

THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF MARITIME HISTORY

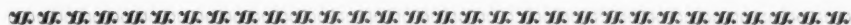


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CURIOS is the often repeated coincidence of long research projects on similar subjects by mutually unacquainted workers reaching completion nearly simultaneously. For instance, the results of several projects on the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century English voyages and ships to North America have recently or will shortly appear.

NEPTUNE readers are familiar with the progress of W. A. Baker's research on the Pilgrims' Mayflower and probably know that the results of his research are being transmitted into reality, for another Mayflower is being built in England which it is intended to sail to Plymouth this coming summer.

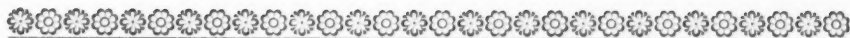
They may not, however, be aware that not one but three replicas of early seventeenth-century ships are being built at West Norfolk, Virginia, for the coming three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Jamestown in 1957. The late Commander Griffith Baily Coale began research on the Jamestown vessels for his meticulous painting, 'Arrival of the First Permanent English Settlers off Jamestown Island, May 13, 1607,' which hangs in the Old Senate Chamber of the Virginia State Capitol. He published an account of his methods in obtaining historical accuracy for this painting in the January 1950 NEPTUNE. Working with and continuing Commander Coale's research, Robert G. C. Fee, now Director of the Model Ship Laboratory

of the Newport News shipyard, has drawn plans for the reconstruction of these three little vessels. So, while *Mayflower* will arrive off Provincetown next year and then make her way across Massachusetts Bay to Plymouth where it will become a permanent exhibition, in 1957 the good ships *Susan Constant*, *Godspeed* and *Discovery* will probably come sailing up the actual route covered by their famous predecessors as part of the Jamestown celebration. Thereafter, they will be on exhibition at Jamestown where visitors can go aboard. Within a few years, then, people interested in old ships will be able, at various ports, to go aboard frigates, a whale ship, late sailing ships, and these early reconstructions of the first vessels to bring immigrants to our shores.

Earlier than either the Plymouth or Jamestown voyages were all those abortive and sometimes tragic attempts at settlements made in the late sixteenth century. The Hakluyt Society has just published a sumptuous two-volume work, *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590*, beautifully edited by David Beers Quinn. These voyages, including the unfortunate Roanoke adventure, while unsuccessful colonization attempts, opened the eyes of Elizabethan England to the New World. No man did more to arouse interest and curiosity than the surveyor and painter, John White, who has left us the earliest drawings made in this country. They are most familiar through the Theodor de Bry engravings published in 1590, but every historically minded American visiting the British Museum should see the original paintings. To turn over these water colors one by one, and see them in all their pristine brilliance, is to see primeval America through contemporary eyes as it can be seen in no other way. They have never been reproduced adequately and a project to do so is now under way. The complete reproduction of these drawings in accurate color will be a proper frosting for the layer cake made up of the publication of the Roanoke voyages and the reconstruction of the Jamestown fleet and *Mayflower*.

ERNEST S. DODGE

Peabody Museum of Salem



The Journal of Nathan Prince, 1747

BY WILLIAM L. SACHSE

IN the early summer of 1747 Nathan Prince, brother of the better-known Thomas Prince (1687-1758), kept, for a few weeks, a daily account of his experiences in England. This journal, hitherto unpublished, is in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is printed here in full, but in the interest of readability Prince's many (and sometimes drastic) word contractions have been ignored, and modern spelling employed.

Prince was in England for two purposes: he wished to secure a warrant to serve as schoolmaster on ships of the Royal Navy, and he was a candidate for Anglican orders. Both of these objectives necessitated a visit to London, on the one hand to be examined at Trinity House, and on the other to present himself before the Bishop of London, within whose jurisdiction the colonies lay.

The episodes related in the journal came close to the end of Prince's life,¹ but at a time when the erstwhile Harvard tutor was in quest of a new career. Born in Sandwich, Massachusetts, in 1698, he was graduated from Harvard College in 1718, receiving his M.A. three years later. After preaching at Westerly and Nantucket, he became a tutor at Harvard in 1723 and five years later a member of the Corporation. He appears to have been a capable and even brilliant man. Charles Chauncey considered him 'a greater mathematician and philosopher, and a much better classical scholar and logician' than his historian brother, and was 'ready to think his powers were stronger, especially his reasoning faculty.'² But he was unreliable, truculent, given to intemperance, and according to one contemporary, 'Raw and uncultivated [and] not much of a Gentleman.'³ After being passed over for the Hollis Professorship, he relieved his disappointment by attacking and ridiculing his colleagues and the college administration, and continued to find solace in the bottle. In 1742 he was

¹ For a biographical essay on Nathan Prince, see Clifford K. Shipton, *Biographical Sketches of Those who Attended Harvard College in the Classes of 1717-1721* (Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, VI, Boston, 1942), 268 ff. For inaccuracies in this account, see below, n. 7 and n. 76.

² *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1st ser., X, 167.

³ Sibley, op. cit., VI, 270.

discharged by the Board of Overseers. In vain he wrote in his defense *The Constitution and Government of Harvard College* (1742), and appealed to the General Court: his days as a college teacher were over.

After teaching school in Boston for a year or so, Prince went to Stratford, Connecticut, where his brother Josiah lived, and where he counted the Anglican minister, Samuel Johnson, as a friend. In September 1745, Johnson wrote Secretary Bearcroft, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, that Prince, having conformed, was willing to undertake an Anglican missionary assignment.⁴ After some inquiries into his morals and orthodoxy, he was invited by the Society to come to England for ordination, and in June 1746, Bearcroft wrote that he had been selected as missionary to the Mosquito Indians.⁵

In the meantime, Prince had gone to Cape Breton whence he shipped, in November 1745, as a schoolmaster on the man-of-war *Vigilant*. Virtually without funds, there was probably no other way for him to obtain a passage. But it was not until April 1747 that he reached England; and even then there was delay until he could obtain £10 from the S. P. G. to buy suitable clothing and for traveling expenses between Portsmouth and London.⁶

The journal begins with his trip in a carrier's wagon, which left Portsmouth 12 June. By 15 June he was in London. Thereafter, though some entries are devoted to his concern for the S. P. G. assignment, for the most part it describes the procedure involved in the examination of naval schoolmasters at Trinity House.⁷ Prince gives us a detailed account of his application to William Mountaine, the mathematical examiner, who briefed him on the examination and lent him books. The examination sessions are described at some length, the questions and answers being set forth in almost stenographical fashion. Having satisfied the examiner,⁸ he was confronted with the seemingly more Herculean task of surmounting the official routine and inflexibility of the Admiralty, in order to obtain a schoolmaster's warrant and receive his bounty money. In describ-

⁴ Frank J. Klingberg, "The Efforts of the S. P. G. to Christianize the Mosquito Indians, 1742-1785," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, IX (1940), 311-312.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 312.

⁶ *Loc. cit.* Prince probably could have reached England earlier if he had been willing to quit *Vigilant* at Lisbon for a ship of lesser force. But he wanted to take no chances of being captured by the enemy, the War of the Austrian Succession being still in progress. Prince to Dr. Philip Bearcroft, 8 January 1747. Miscellaneous Bound MSS, XI. Massachusetts Historical Society.

⁷ Sibley, *op. cit.*, VI, 278, is in error in stating that the S. P. G. conducted this examination.

⁸ Prince appears to have been well qualified in mathematics. In setting up his school in Boston in 1743, he had advertised that he would give instruction particularly "in the Elements of Geometry and Algebra; in Trigonometry and Navigation; in Geography and Astronomy, with the Use of the Globes and the several Kinds of Projecting the Sphere; In the Arts of Surveying, Gauging and Dialing; and in the General Rules of Fortification and Gunnery." *Boston News-Letter*, March 10, 1743.

ing these undertakings, Prince illuminates, in very human fashion, facets of British naval procedure and customs which have received little attention from historians, and for which the source materials (at least in printed form) appear to be scanty.

Prince had little time in which to enjoy his new status as Church of England missionary and schoolmaster to the 'gentlemen volunteers' of the navy. He left England in March 1748, having missed an earlier sailing of *Vigilant*. Arriving in Jamaica in June, he was ordered to assume his spiritual duties at Blackriver, on the Island of Rattan. There death claimed him within a matter of days.⁹

[1747]

[Br Nathan Prince's Journal]

[a 2 June 12 to c July 5, 1747]

[Suppose at Portsmouth 1747]

[1747]¹⁰

Friday, June 12. Went over with Ballard and Jos. Scammel and bespoke West's wagon. Came back, bundled up things. Went back to West's about 12. He not ready, so went to the Sign of the Horse and eat some victuals. See there the large *βοσκον κρεατοφ*¹¹ About 2 o'clock the wagoner called me and I went about half a mile, where was the wagoner. They drew me in for one mug of twopenny, for they perceived in a minute that I was a stranger, though I did what I could to conceal it, for they see that I didn't know how to act. Got in the wagon with two women and a sailor. He hid for fear of being pressed at the gate. After we went about a mile overtook another sailor, who had picked up a girl, and then these two got into the wagon and he also hid. The two first women soon got out, so I and the last were left in the wagon, and she soon fell into a fit for near a quarter of an hour. I was at first very shy of them and thought they might be rogues and rob me, as being in mean clothes, so I told them I also belonged to a man-of-war, and was a schoolmaster of the vessel, going up to London to be examined, and was shy of them till next day—but then I found they were free and civil and that there was no manner of danger.

When we come to the gate an officer stepped up and asked me if there were any men there. I according to agreement was reading my Horace and looked up and answered him, 'Yes, I'm a man.' 'Oh, Sir, I know that you are,' and bowed and stepped down again. So about a quarter of a mile further the two sailors got up and set with their girl between them. That night at 10 o'clock got to Petersfield, where we lodged. I differed with the man and said he had abused me in the wagon, and then I called him a knave, and went into a room by myself where I overheard him say he'd strike me, but his girl (who seemed to take a fancy to me) interceded and said I must be in liquor. So happy for me I escaped, and when I came out he drank to me. I refused him. He said he was never angry with a man in his life. This pleased me.

⁹ Klingberg, *op. cit.*, 313.

¹⁰ These bracketed entries are in the handwriting of Thomas Prince. I am indebted to the Massachusetts Historical Society for permission to publish this journal.

¹¹ The Greek characters spell 'boscon creature.'

'Well said, and you can't make me angry. Here, lady, give me a pint of cider. Come, fellow travelers, here's to all your good healths. Sir, my service to you.' 'Thanks,' said they, and then we were all perfect friends.

Saturday, June 13. Got up early. Went to a man's for a joiner. He got up out of bed and exceeding civilly carried me to a house a-building, where was a carpenter, whom I got to make a ruler. He would have nothing for it, so I gave his boy a penny and told the man that it might get his boy a pint of beer; nor would the man that came with me take anything for his trouble. Went back and without breakfast all got up in the wagon. And about a mile further the two sailors and their girl agreed to get out and go to London on foot. So I see them no more. The men left their bottle behind them and she her pair of scissors, which I took. Now I was left alone. Sometimes we seemed to travel as if underground, the road was so narrow and deep, with high banks shaded with trees and hedges that seemed to hang over our heads. I wondered how for half a mile almost together 'twas possible for wagons or coaches, if they met, either to get by each other or to turn back. But they could a great way hear each other's horses' bells, and this perhaps is one main end of so useful a contrivance. At other times we would rise up into the most beautiful and varied prospects of the country round us for fifteen or twenty miles' distance every way. About ten miles from where we lodged I called at a tavern and eat some breakfast.

Then we rise gradually up the heath, where was the finest prospect of hills, vales, roads, fields and villages I ever saw. At the end of the heath was the Devil's Punch Bowl.¹² Then descended into a town about 11 o'clock A.M. where I got a breakfast of tea. Stayed about an hour and then went on. Now I begun to find what Ballard told me at Portsmouth, 'not to be free with the wagoners,' was good advice, for by only asking understrapper¹³ Jo for information about what I see along the road, and pitying him when I see him weary and sweaty and, as I thought, without money, I gave him some beer, he took the advantage of all questions to get into talk with me before I was aware, and at length would be free with me whether I would or no, and insisted on it that I must give him drink, that all passengers did it. I found not out what a wretch he was till the wagoner himself came up to him after he had overset the wagon and talked to him and then to me for letting him have a single drop of drink, and especially at night when they made him cry.¹⁴ From that time I shook him off as I would a dog. About 3 o'clock we came to a place where I got a dinner and then went up chamber and lay down, being weary of walking so much on foot over the heath that day. Then about 4 o'clock I got up and went down in their hall and writ till night; then lodged in great [?] room in a press-bed. Before I went to bed I called for my reckoning and made a mistake of a shilling too much, which I found not out till next morning.

Sabbath, June 14. And then, being called up just as the wagon was going, I told the waiter 'twas a shilling too much. He said his mistress was abed and he'd ask her. He brought word that she said it wasn't too much, that I had cast it up myself. I went up and insisted on it. She told her husband not to let me in, but to get my reckoning out of me, that I was well off. Thus she that the day before was all kind-

¹² This feature of the landscape is near Hindhead, Surrey.

¹³ Underling.

¹⁴ See below, p. 85.

ness and gentleness was, when she got that advantage, as unrelenting as a devil. So I was forced to yield to her. The wagon being already gone and I not knowing the way, and took a wrong one till I heard the bells to the left of me; then I went back and found they had gone for their horses to join the wagon.

The next noted place was Guildford. We descended down through houses to a bridge, the walls of which were made of flintstone, and under which runs a river¹⁵ through the town, and then rise up into the town.

It lies on high ground, but winding, high hills are above it to the south and below it a mile off. So all the streets are always clean and are large and the prospects about it exceeding beautiful, and so it is with trees, groves and fine seats clear to Godalming, which is about eight miles farther on, where, while I walked before over stiles through a field, Jo got his liquor. Beyond Godalming, about 5 or 6 o'clock in the afternoon, the wagoner having been for some hours behind on horseback, so having already got liquor, was drunk and overset the wagon. It was in plain ground, but the bank was high and one wheel run up the bank, and before I could get out the whole load of paper came upon me and sunk me under it, and there was the hinder great horse down with his heels within two feet of my head, while I lay struggling to get out and had no way to disengage myself but by main strength to wrench my coat in twain from top to bottom. Help soon came and they said 'twas well my bones hadn't been broken or I killed by the load or the horse. Providence ordered it that he never stirred, for one sprawl of his feet behind him where my head lay would have dashed my brains out! I went to the house and sewed my coat up anyhow lest I should get cold, but the sweat I had been in all day and the time I sat in my shirt to mend my coat and going all day without a jacket in a loose coat occasioned my getting the greatest cold I ever had. It lasted a fortnight after I got to London. I coughed every half minute all night long and sometimes waked half strangled. Every night I was feverish and sweat, and I could smell my own breath to be earthy as if I was going into a consumption. Soon after the wagon was righted again and we got forward, the wagoner came up and gave Jo his due in language, and so all to the tavern, where we lodged (which was about a mile beyond the place where we overset the wagon), and then at night all got about Jo till they made him cry by the hour together.

Monday, June 15. Rainy in the morning. Was now about twenty miles from London. Set away about 8 o'clock. About two mile on I had another deliverance, for, it being a marly and loamy soil, the rain had made the roads and paths as slippery as glass, which I did not perceive till I jumped out of the wagon into a path by the side of the road, and there my heels slipped so that I stood on a poise¹⁶ and could but just save myself from falling backwards right before the loaded wagon wheel, which would have crushed me to death in a moment! For Jo was forward on and on the other side of the wagon, and so couldn't see me, and thereon would not have stopped the horses, and if I had fallen back it would have been but two feet before the wagon wheels, so I could not have had time to cry out and bid him stop the horses before the wheel would have crushed me to pieces. This brings to mind the deliverance I had on board the *Vigilant*. In a dark, pitchy night when I couldn't see I fell down the middle stairs of the upper deck, and if the locker of the Steward's room had been

¹⁵ The Weir.

¹⁶ Barely kept my balance.

open I might have fallen down quite into the locker and been killed outright. I didn't know where I was falling till I found myself eight foot down on the middle deck—yet no bone broke, no bruise or even any skin rased¹⁷ off anywhere over my body. May I ever remember a gracious God and live as a person ought who has experienced such signal preservation.

We came away this day with a fleeing person from the tavern, who went to serve and assist the wagoner. I was afraid of him. He pretended he wanted to go to sea in a man-of-war, after he found I belonged to one, but I told him the difficulties if he had no friends in the Navy to promote his interest. When we had got about five miles onward we gradually rise up for a mile together on a high hill that commanded a vast prospect round us, and there spied [?] St. Paul's. How I felt when I first see the cupola! This man said before we came to the hill we might see St. Paul's when we came to the top of this hill. There we lighted at a tavern on the top of the hill, and a summer house by it. As we went into the tavern I asked him what house that was (viz., the summer house, it looked so much better than the tavern itself). He said it was Prince Frederick's¹⁸ pleasure house. 'Ay,' said I, as I went away into the tavern, and left them at the wagon with the wagoner, and before I had got four rods from [him] he set up a broad laugh at it.

Almost all the way, from the tavern we lodged at last to this tavern, the public road we went in passed through fields of corn and mowing grass without any gates to open, so that I wondered how 'twas possible that horses, sheep and cattle shouldn't eat the corn half up, especially since from this tavern (after we got down the hill) we passed through downs where were great numbers of sheep and cattle. Yet I saw but one horse (and no sheep or cattle) in all those fields, and he seemed not to have strayed there, but to be in his proper pasture.

About a mile or two after we had got over the downs (being between eleven and seven miles from London), there was a town¹⁹ in low ground, foggy and marshy and the streets prodigious nasty, yet it abounded with the most beautiful fine seats and gardens with groves and evergreens cut into all sorts of figures, with all kinds of alabaster statues on pedestals, that I ever saw.

About a mile before we came to Fox Hall a girl that wanted anybody to pick her up came into the wagon to me. She said that she broke away from her cruel mistress and was going to London. She couldn't bear to live in the country; London was the only place. Poor creature, I believe, was ruined, for the wagoner gave her a pint of beer and carried her with him with a tip²⁰ and went to the place where he put up. We went a mile and a half round to avoid a turnpike and then came to the place where he put up. Just before we came to it I found the sailor I differed with at Petersfield. He was glad to see me and we parted good friends. While I was standing by the house where we put up, at a loss where to lodge that night, who should come along but Honest English, and soon after came up his brother; so after we had refreshed ourselves I came down with them and, it being late at night, went to bed directly without eating or drinking anything.

Tuesday, June 16. Got up, rainy day most part of the day, so stayed at home. In

¹⁷ Scraped.

¹⁸ Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales (1707-1751). He had a country house at Cliveden, Berks.

¹⁹ Twickenham, Middlesex, eleven miles southwest of London.

²⁰ Draught of liquor.

the afternoon the Doorkeeper of Trinity House came here and said he'd forward my affair. He said I had best go that very afternoon to speak with Mr. Mountaine,²¹ for tomorrow was their court day, but I was too weary and out of order for it. To-day I got my hat and brown coat and black breeches at the broker's, 25 shillings.

Wednesday, June 17. At 12 o'clock went up with W. English to Mr. Mountaine. He not at home, but his wife came down. I told her I had a letter from a Lieutenant of a man-of-war, the *Vigilant*, to deliver to Mr. Mountaine with my own hand. 'Oh,' says she, 'from Mr. Carew—you are his friend and come to be examined. Mr. Mountaine will do you all the service that lies in his power. Pray walk into the other room, please to dine with us.' I thanked her. We stayed till half an hour after one, and then she said she believed Mr. Mountaine was detained, so we went down to dinner. He came in soon after we had sat down, and dined with us. She told him who I was. He told me I had lost a day; if I had come about 10 o'clock I might have been examined that day. After dinner he and I went up into his room alone, where I gave him Mr. Carew's letter, which he read and then told me the general heads I was to be examined on, and said if I was deficient in one and found skilled in another they made allowance for that: decimals and extracting of the roots, use of the globes, geometry, trigonometry plane and spherical, the orthographic and stereographical projections of the sphere, solution of astronomical cases by it, projecting all the spherical triangles, Julian calendar, astronomy, plane scale and Gunter's,²² plane, parallel and Mercator's sailing, use of the plane and Mercator's chart, rules to find the amplitudes and azimuths and the variation of the compass, oblique and current sailing and turning to windward, and keeping a day's log. Then went and got Hodgson's,²³ two volumes, and Patoun,²⁴ and told me to take them and run them over on these articles to refresh my memory till Saturday. So went home and studied them.

Day.

Friday, June 19. Did the same.

Saturday, June 20. It rained and a prodigious pugging seized me, so I went not to Mr. Mountaine's, and at night the Doorkeeper came in and seeing me asked me with surprise what was the reason I didn't come, and that Mr. Mountaine came over to Trinity House on purpose and stayed there till 1 o'clock, to the neglect of his own business! I told him the reason. He said, but I should have sent then, and there I was greatly to blame.

Sabbath, June 21. A.M. Stayed at home and P.M. heard the New Light preacher.

Monday, June 22. Went to Mr. Mountaine's to excuse myself. His countenance was quite changed. He looked at me with resentment. I told him how it was, but nothing would satisfy him, it still stuck with him. He said he certainly thought I was dead when he found I did not come or send; I should at least have sent—nothing could excuse that. But before I left him he was more pacified.

²¹ William Mountaine (d. 1779), mathematical examiner of Trinity House for the Royal Navy. In 1751 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society. He published several works in the field of navigation. In 1744 he revised and corrected James Atkinson's *Epitome of the Art of Navigation* (see below, n. 34).

²² Edmund Gunter (1581-1626), an English mathematician and astronomer who invented the chain, line, quadrant and scale named after him.

²³ James Hodgson, *A System of Mathematics* (London, 1723).

²⁴ Archibald Patoun, *A Complete Treatise of Practical Navigation Demonstrated from its First Principles*. This work went into many editions; the second appeared in 1739.

Tuesday, June 23. Went early in the morning with W. English to Tower Wharf. Thence he carried me along and showed me Bow Church, my Lord Mayor's new house, the Change and Ludgate; then St. Paul's; then up through the Market, then Bartholomew's Hospital, then Smithfield and the place in the middle where the martyrs were burnt. Then we went into the Charterhouse and was showed where Dr. Bearcroft²⁵ lived. Then went out and refreshed ourselves, and he left me. I went to Dr. Bearcroft's. He was that moment coming down stairs, so he carried me into a room, and I showed him his own letter and told him I was the person he was pleased to send the letter to. He took it and barely glanced his eye on it and said, 'Oh, 'tis Mr. Prince,' (though my name was not once in [it] and he had wrote it a year and half before!); 'please to set down. I must,' says he, 'talk with you further on this affair.' Then [he] went out and left me there for half an hour. When he came in again I pulled out my testimonials and was going to say that I had heard some objections had been laid in against me, and that I had brought testimonials both from New England and the Navy, which I hoped were sufficient to take off all objections against me whatever. But he prevented me and said there was no need of them now, for the matter was already settled between me and the Society (first in their committees and then with the Society itself), and that I was to be ordained and sent their missionary to the Mosquito Indians, if I pleased; that he had seen Admiral Warren²⁶ and Captain Douglas,²⁷ who had spoke for me and had satisfied him. This was much as Captain Douglas told me at his lodgings at Gosport, where I last saw him before I came for London, that I was to be ordained and sent to [sic] the Society as their missionary, and by H. [?] Douglas' letter and in it calling Mr. Tryon his particular friend and Captain Douglas saying that 'twas Mr. Tryon that had [illegible] the money for me,²⁸ I believe that they engaged Mr. Tryon in my behalf, and all three as well as Admiral Warren were my friends to the Society. Then he asked where I had been and whether I had received a letter from him; that he thought I was lost; that nobody could tell where I was; that Admiral Warren inquired for me at Portsmouth; that Mr. Woods said he would look for me; that the New England agent had inquired for me at London; that Mr. Hooper²⁹ said he would find me out at Portsmouth. 'You know Hooper, don't you?' 'No, sir,' said I. 'Not Hooper?' said the Doctor. 'Why, he told me he knew you.' 'I wonder, Sir, where,' said I. 'Why, in New England,' said the Doctor. 'I knew no Hooper there,' said I, 'but a Presbyterian minister in Boston.' 'Why, that's he,' said the Doctor, 'he's come over for orders in the *Chester* with Admiral Warren and gone back again in a man-of-war.' This astonished me, but more so when he said that Davenport³⁰ was dead in London! And

²⁵ Philip Bearcroft, Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts from 1739 until his death in 1761. See H. P. Thompson, *Into All Lands* (London, 1951), p. 38.

²⁶ Sir Peter Warren (1703-1752), naval commander at the taking of Louisbourg in 1745.

²⁷ James Douglas (1703-1787). He commanded *Mermaid*, one of the ships in Admiral Warren's squadron, at the taking of Louisbourg, rose to be an admiral, and died a baronet. See William Laird Clowes, *The Royal Navy, a History from the Earliest Times to the Present* (London, 1897-1903), III, 115.

²⁸ Probably a reference to the £10 obtained from the S. P. G.

²⁹ William Hooper (d. 1767). Of Scottish origin, he ministered at West Church, 1737-1746, was ordained an Anglican priest in 1747, and returned to Boston to serve as Rector of Trinity Church.

³⁰ Addington Davenport (1701-1746). A Harvard graduate, he was S. P. G. missionary to Scituate, Massachusetts, then moved to Boston, where he was lecturer of King's Chapel and first Rector of Trinity Church.

his vestry at the news immediately and unanimously elected Hooper, and he accepted and came over with a vast character and recommendation from Governor Shirley;³¹ that it was with great difficulty that he got his orders, for Price³² writ against him; that Price had resigned and was coming over to England to get a missionary settled at Hopkinton, but would still be Commissary.

Then the Doctor looked on my testimonials (which all this time lay on the table), and reading that of the Captains and Lieutenants said it was enough, that he should want that. Then he said he was to go out to dinner, but would have me come and dine with him tomorrow. I told him I was to be examined then, it being court day at the Trinity House. 'Then,' said he, 'come on Thursday or Friday.' So I took my leave of him and with great difficulty found the way down to Tower Wharf again.

N.B. He knew somehow or other that I was T. Prince's brother, for, says [he], 'There is your brother's sermon,³³ which sums up and connects these providences on that occasion, [and] has had as great a run as ever any sermon had.'

Wednesday, June 24th. Went and came to Trinity House about 10 o'clock. Neither Secretary nor Master come yet, so I told the Doorkeeper I'd step over to Mr. Mountaine and tell him I was come, which I did, and then told him I would go on before and show my testimonials to the Secretary, which was necessary before I could be examined. I waited until near 12 before the Deputy Secretary came and found that I must lodge my Stratford vestry testimonials in that office, and with great difficulty prevailed with the Clerk to return me my general testimonials from Captain Douglas and the Lieutenants. Soon after the Doorkeeper came to Mr. Mountaine and told him that the Deputy Secretary had found my testimonials for my sober life and conversation and good affection to his Majesty's person and government to be extraordinarily well vouched, and that he might proceed to my examination immediately, which he did. 1. A sum in mixed decimals to extract the square root of. 2. To delineate a traverse. 3. To work a traverse by logarithms and on Gunter's scale, which I did to his satisfaction. Then he said he supposed I knew the use of the globes. I told him I had taught it to scores in New England. 'Then,' says he, 'we'll go to the master charts.' But just after I had worked the logarithms he asked me of what use the index was. At first I did not understand him, till he gave me a hint, and then I explained it at large to his satisfaction. Then I went to the charts. He asked the difference between the plane chart and Mercator's, which I answered him, and the ratio on which the meridian difference [of] latitude is increased. Then he put questions, as how many kinds of distances there were on the Mercator's chart. I at first did not understand him, till he said there were four and began to say what they were, and then I spake to them at large to his satisfaction. Then several problems on the Mercator's chart, which I was going to work by pricks and arcs made on the chart, but he would [not] allow this way as too bungling

³¹ William Shirley (1694-1771), Governor of Massachusetts, 1741-1756.

³² Roger Price (1696-1762). An Englishman, he became Rector of King's Chapel, Boston, and Commissary to the Bishop of London in 1729. Price himself was S. P. G. missionary at Hopkinton, Massachusetts, 1748-1752, and then again returned to England.

³³ *Extraordinary Events the Doings of God, and Marvellous in Pious Eyes*. The 'occasion' was the Capture of Louisbourg. First published in Boston in 1745, it ran into several editions there, and some London reprints and an Edinburgh edition appeared in 1746.

and which would spoil a chart. Then I told him I had never in Atkinson,³⁴ Patoun, Wilson,³⁵ etc., met with any other. Then he showed me with one [pair of] compasses and a scale how to find the course, and [in] the other problem he used two pair, and in some problems he said three and four pair were used. Then, it being 2 o'clock, he adjourned to next Saturday.

Thursday, June 25. Couldn't go to Dr. Bearcroft's because it rained.

Friday, June 26. Went to Dr. Bearcroft's. Carried in to the same room as at first. It was 12 o'clock and the Doctor came not until 2. So stayed there and observed the fine picture of the Disciples taking down our Lord from the Cross, the holes in one of his feet and one hand, the other being concealed; the pictures of King Charles II, James II, and their sister when children; then a fine woman's picture, which I asked Dr. Bearcroft's eldest son (who all the while had been reading there) whose that was. He said 'twas Nell Gwynn's. The whitest and finest turned arms that I ever see, she was painted in her curled locks and somewhat loose dress, a fair white complexion, red cheeks, and her hair seemed to be turned on the yellow, her lips red, full and plump, and the make of her face showed them to be firm; a ruddy complexioned face, a vigor and refined life of countenance, soft and yet all over firm in such a manner that the cast of her face and the make and cast of every feature in it showed [it] to be of [?] the most lasting sort, as if she could never be worn out, her face not broad or flat, but full and prominent and roundly [?] formed [?].

When just after two we had set down to dinner, Mr. Sturgeon³⁶ came in. The Doctor said no grace, but ended with a grace or thanksgiving. Then, while at dinner, he said we had better cider in New England than here, by Mr. Davenport's³⁷ account, who told him he would send him a hogshhead for trial. 'But he is dead,' said the Doctor, 'and I have lost my cider.' Then after dinner we talked of rarities in America. Sturgeon mentioned the humbird;³⁸ a lady who dined there and whom the Doctor said was a virtuoso brought one. Then he talked on Cape Breton, that there was some great design in Providence that it should be taken by such a train of providences and be preserved from being retaken by the French fleet the fall and spring after by as wonderful a providence in dispersing them; that humane policy would be for giving it up when we came to make peace, 'for,' said he, 'what have the French taken from us to balance or exchange for it, when the time comes, and yet something must be given to the Dutch and Austrians of what the French have taken from them, so the allies will be for that and against our keeping it.'

N.B. I suspect by Dr. Cutler's³⁹ letters to me at Cape Breton, and from Stur-

³⁴ James Atkinson. His corrected and enlarged edition of Henry Cellibrand's *An Epitome of Navigation* appeared in 1706.

³⁵ Henry Wilson, mathematician, author of *Navigation New Modelled, or a Treatise of Geometrical, Trigonometrical . . . and Practical Navigation* (London, 1715, 8th ed., 1761), and *The Description and Use of . . . the Globular Chart* (London, 1722).

³⁶ William Sturgeon (ca. 1722-1770). A graduate of Yale College (1745), he received Anglican orders in May 1747. By October of that year he had begun his duties as Assistant Minister of Christ Church, Philadelphia, where he remained for nearly twenty years. See Franklin B. Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College* (New York, 1885-1911), II, 61-63.

³⁷ Addington Davenport. See above, p. 88 and n. 30.

³⁸ Hummingbird.

³⁹ Timothy Cutler (1684-1765). Rector of Yale College (1719-1722); thereafter Rector of the newly established Christ Church, Boston. Cutler had befriended Prince after the loss of his tutorship. Sibley, op. cit., V, 65.

geon's telling me he had missed it, and from the Doctor turning away from him after dinner to talk with me, that Sturgeon really came over with a design for Rattan, and in all likelihood from Dr. Johnson's⁴⁰ recommendation, after he had retracted his own for me.

When the Doctor turned to me he told me he knew what I was made of as well as I did myself; that he had read my book on the government of Harvard College.⁴¹ I excused the indecent expressions in it. He told me the Presbyterians had at length obtained a charter from the King of a college in the Jerseys.⁴² He said he was glad of it, and wished they had more of them, that 'twas but sending over the most valuable books of every kind, as Bishop Berkeley had to Yale College, and he'd soon set the students a-thinking and wear off their aversion to the Church. Sturgeon said they had got Smith,⁴³ the lawyer of New York and the most zealous Presbyterian, to be the government of that college. Then we came away, and as we did so he told me I must go down and get my discharge and be up again as fast as I could; that the committee sat on Monday, July 13, and the general meeting of the Society the Friday after (viz., the Monday before the 3d Tuesday in each month), and the general meeting was the Friday after.

I came away with Sturgeon down to Moorfields. Called at Mr. Berriman's as we came along, but he not at home. Then through Moorfields to Bedlam, where [are] the two fine statues on each side the clock that is turned over the gate, of two different kinds of madness.⁴⁴ Then to the New England Coffee House, where and as we came along he said that Lamson⁴⁵ liked Wetmore's⁴⁶ daughter. I said I thought he would try for Nanny Heath. 'No,' said he, 'Dr. Johnson will take care of that. She must be for Sam,'⁴⁷ who will certainly succeed him at Stratford, and he Mr. Honeyman⁴⁸ at Rhode Island; that is his scheme.' I said Dr. MacSparran⁴⁹ would hinder that. He said the Doctor could not, for Dr. Johnson had universally recommended himself by his treatise on morals,⁵⁰ by now printed; that the Bishop of Oxford was Dr. Johnson's staunch friend. As we came along I told him what stories had been

⁴⁰ Samuel Johnson (1696-1772), an S. P. G. missionary at Stratford, Connecticut, later President of King's College.

⁴¹ *Account of the Constitution and Government of Harvard College* (Boston, 1742).

⁴² The College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, was chartered in 1746.

⁴³ William Smith (1697-1769), a successful lawyer, closely associated with Presbyterian interests in New York. He was one of the founders of the College of New Jersey, and probably drafted its first charter. See Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Princeton, 1746-1896* (Princeton, 1946), pp. 15-16, 22.

⁴⁴ The reference is to two figures, 'representing raving and melancholy madness, over the gateway. These five figures were the work of Cibber, the sculptor, and always excited the greatest interest.' H. W. Robinson, 'Robert Hooke as a Surveyor and Architect,' *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, VI (1949), 53.

⁴⁵ Joseph Lamson (1718-1773), an Anglican minister at Stratford, Norwalk, and Fairfield, Connecticut, 1747-1773.

⁴⁶ James Wetmore (1695-1760). He forsook the Congregational pulpit for Anglican orders (1723), returning to minister in New York City and Rye, 1723-1760.

⁴⁷ William Samuel Johnson (1727-1819). His father, Dr. Samuel Johnson, hoped he would enter the ministry, but he took up the law.

⁴⁸ James Honeyman (ca. 1675-1750). A Scot, he was the first resident S. P. G. missionary in Rhode Island; at Newport, 1704-1750.

⁴⁹ James MacSparran (1693-1757). He served as S. P. G. missionary in the Narragansett country for thirty-six years.

⁵⁰ *Ethices Elementa, or the First Principles of Moral Philosophy* (Boston, 1746).

raised against me, but now, thank God, I had got above them. He said he had told Mr. Berriman that all the stories against me were only spite, and that Dr. Bearcroft had searched into them and found them without foundation. I said I knew I should be followed with such, for some of my best friends when I came from New England told me to my face they wished I might never come back again if I went to England for orders. 'Why, so mine did to me,' says he, 'I didn't let my own father know my design, and when he knew it he wouldn't contribute a penny; that some gentlemen of Philadelphia raised £ 30 for me to come over. The only way for you (as I found it was for me) was to get orders as soon as possible and then you need not fear them.' He told me always they asked the Bishop of London's blessing when they came before him (N.B., so Andrew Belcher said the first thing as soon as you come into his presence is to ask it), and to take leave of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He told me that Judge Auchmuty's son⁵¹ was in town for orders; lived now at his uncle's; was to be with Mr. Barclay;⁵² that Mr. Rowe⁵³ was in town, a private schoolmaster. I begged that Rowe might not know I was here, for he was no friend of mine. He said Rowe should not know it.

When we parted we kissed each other and he desired a correspondence with me, which I should be sure should be (and which may give light to what I have noted above that he had missed it). This was at Tower Wharf stairs.

Saturday, June 27. Went up to Mr. Mountaine's with his books before 10. He was not then at home, but in a few minutes came in and said 'twas well I was come. I presented [?] his books with thanks, at which he seemed pleased and went along with me over to Trinity House and began the examination. On Mercator's chart he showed me several curious ways how to perform problems, only in [ways] quite different from those in books. After I had told him that I had not met with those ways in any of the common books of navigation, he showed me and [illeg.] with given course and distance and the place sailed from to find the ship's place in the chart. 'But,' says he, 'I know you can't do it, I know you can't do it, there must be four transferrings.' I said I had never read of them. Then he asked about turning a sine into a tangent and how to set off the distance when part of it was beyond the line. I said Atkinson and Sellar⁵⁴ showed that, but he told me that way of setting off the distance was bungling. But he showed not another. Then he asked which was the truest way of sailing, Middle Latitude or Mercator's. I said Mercator's, etc.; everywhere it was as radius to secant of latitude, but in Middle Latitude it was not strictly speaking anywhere as $\cos. m. lat: R :: dep.: diff. long.$,⁵⁵ but only nearly when we were near the Equator, but not so neither when near the poles, for the parallels of latitude do not decrease in any one fixed ratio, as radius to secant is not in any one fixed ratio. He said I was in the right, and the ground and reason of it was because they decreased neither in an arithmetical nor geometrical proportion. Then he

⁵¹ Samuel Auchmuty (1722-1777), the son of Judge Robert Auchmuty. He received Anglican orders in 1747; in 1764 he succeeded Henry Barclay, whom he had assisted since 1748, as Rector of Trinity Church, New York.

⁵² Henry Barclay (d. 1764), Rector of Trinity Church, New York, 1746-1764.

⁵³ Stephen Rowe, an S. P. C. missionary to Dorchester, South Carolina (1736-1741), and Boston (1741-1744), where he was Assistant Rector of King's Chapel.

⁵⁴ John Sellar (fl. 1700), hydrographer to Charles II; author of *The English Pilot* (London, 1671-1711; various subsequent editions), *Atlas Maritimus, or the Sea Atlas* (1675), and other works.

⁵⁵ I. e. cosine of middle latitude is to radius as departure is to difference of longitude.

asked me to work an azimuth, which I readily did to his satisfaction. 'Well,' says [he], 'while I go out, do you project the sphere stereographically on the plane of the equinoctial colure,' which I did. Then I told him, when he came in, that though I had not drawn all the lines, yet all that were sufficient to answer all astronomical problems needful in navigation. When I came to explain oblique ascension, I did it on an arc of a parallel of declination. 'No,' said he, 'that is not the oblique ascension.' 'But so the number of degrees contained in that transferred to the great circle and then measured by semiangles gives it.' 'Ay, if you transfer 'em; you are right there.' When we came to the triangle of the azimuth I had mistakes, and seeing it said, 'Sir, I should have drawn another azimuth circle further off to meet the meridian the sun is on below this parallel of declination, for the sun never goes without it.' So he let pass my mistake, because he see I was onto [?] it and knew how to correct it before he noted either of these to me. 'Well,' says he, 'tis enough. I was determined you should pass and accordingly when I went out it was to write my testimony to our Secretary that I had examined you and found you well qualified, and hereto desire him (to save time) in the meanwhile to write your certificate. And here is my testimonial.' I thanked him for it and asked whether there were any fees or anything customary to be given, [saying] I should be [sic] readily give it. 'Not to me,' said he, 'but you must pay the Secretary 15s. for your certificate. And you may give 6d. or a shilling to the Doorkeeper for his service, for I'll assure you he promoted your affair. But I'll go and give my testimony to the Secretary, and do you stay without till he comes for you.' So we parted, and I waited not long before the Secretary came out and carried me down into his office and gave me my certificate, the purport of which was that whereas by order of the Earl of Pembroke,⁵⁶ Chief Master, in 1702, all schoolmasters that sought for employment in the [Navy] should be examined at Trinity House by the Master, Wardens and Assistants as to their skill in the theory and practice in the art of navigation (bringing with them a certificate from the parish they last belonged to of their sober life and conversation and being well affected to his Majesty's person and government), these were to certify the Lords of the Admiralty that the Master, Wardens and Assistants had examined the bearer, Mr. N. P., accordingly (who had produced to you such certificate from good and substantial people) and had found him sufficiently skilled in the theory [and] practice of the art of navigation to be employed as schoolmaster on board any of his Majesty's ships, to teach the same to the young gentlemen volunteers.⁵⁷ Then he said he must have 15s. for it. I had no less than a guinea, so I pulled it out and desired him to accept of that, at which he seemed somewhat pleased. Then he told me (as Mr. Mountaine had done before) that I must go with that and with my certificate from Capt. Douglas to the Admiralty Office and inquire for the Messenger and give them to him, and he would tell me what I was to do further.

N.B. When the first and last time that I was there, while waiting I looked round and see in the Common Hall an original of Sir Francis Drake (he looked like Wendower, a little face, not grand or heroic, but full of a pert, sharp life). Saw Sir Charles Wager's⁵⁸ donations most gratefully acknowledged, and his titles of thrice Master of

⁵⁶ Thomas Herbert, eighth Earl of Pembroke (1656-1733), Lord High Admiral, 1702 and 1708.

⁵⁷ Embryo officers were formerly so called.

⁵⁸ Admiral Sir Charles Wager (1666-1713). During his long naval career he served as Controller of the Navy, Treasurer of the Navy, and First Lord of the Admiralty. Clowes, op. cit., III, 2, 3. *Dictionary of National Biography*.

that Corporation. Saw James Prince's donation of £100 on conditions, and Elder Brothers of that Corporation, their donations. And in the room where I was examined saw an original of Charles II and of James II when Duke of York, and other great men. Mr. Mountaine said they had in the court an original of Queen Elizabeth, which they had been offered 300 guineas for; that Trinity House was founded in Henry VII's time, had all the boats that ply in the Thames under their charge, who received their warrants from it and were constantly [?] accountable to it; that all the pilots of his Majesty's navy were licensed as such from it, and on all occasions that House was to find them; that the lighthouses and lights was under their charge and inspection. The Duke of Bedford⁵⁹ (the first Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty) was the present Master of Trinity House. [See more in Enquiry Book, p. 3.]⁶⁰

At night the Doorkeeper was here, so I presented him with a half-crown piece, and told him I was a poor man and if I could spare it from my present necessities I would give him freely five times as much, at which he seemed well satisfied, and he gave 6*d.* of it to the lower Doorkeeper, as the latter informed me when I was afterwards at Trinity House to get a new certificate, my former being mislaid at the Admiralty Office.

Sabbath, June, 28. Stayed at home in the forenoon. And P.M. came to the door and found them not returned from meeting. So stepped into Wilson's till they came, and then went all to the Isle of Providence, and returned home.

Monday, June 29. Stayed at home, it being a rainy day.

Tuesday, June 30. By directions from Honest English I found the way alone to Pepper Alley Stairs. Thence for 6 pence went in a sculler⁶¹ for Westminster Stairs. This was the best view I had of St. Paul's and the upper bridge and Westminster and the intermediate seats along the Strand, as the Inner and Middle Temple and Somerset House. Landed at Whitehall Stairs; thence shown the way to the Admiralty Office. See the Doorkeeper, but he couldn't take my papers then, so went to the Sign of the Ship, where I asked how to get admittance, etc. The woman [of?] the house [said?] it was their business, their bread, to assist persons who had business at the Admiralty how to come at what they wanted, and she'd call a man who would direct me. He came. I showed him my papers. He said it must be by way of petition and he'd write one for me. This, accompanying my certificate from Trinity House and from my Captain, must be given to the Messenger. I told him I should want my certificate from the Captain as proof of my past living to the Pay Office in order to get my bounty money. He said then a copy of it sent in with my petition would do. So he writ it out and that and the certificate from Trinity House he enclosed in my petition and sealed them up under a cover directed to Thomas Corbett, Esquire.⁶² These I carried and gave in to the Messenger, and was going to tell him my case, but he with a hurried waving of his hand put me off and said he could say nothing further, but would give it in. So I went out and walked about for a cook's shop for a cold dinner, but found all the provision so prodigiously more dear than in the City of London or at Gosport that I was resolved to be content with some

⁵⁹ John Russell, fourth Duke of Bedford (1710-1771), became master of Trinity House in 1745.

⁶⁰ In Thomas Prince's hand.

⁶¹ A boat propelled by sculling.

⁶² Thomas Corbett (d. 1751), became Senior Secretary of the Admiralty in 1742.

bread and cheese, which I procured elsewhere. They asked for a little chicken, dressed cold a day or two past, 1s. 6d., and elsewhere for a little mutton pie, four times less than our College tarts [?], 3d. In the afternoon as I went up to the Admiralty Office, who should I meet in the yard but Dr. Eaton. He had just come out of the country and was soliciting here for leave not to go on a cruise in the *Vigilant* this time. And here I got him to sign my testimonials from the Captain and Lieutenants, which he was so ready to do that he went for pen and ink to sign them before he had read them. He got his request granted and went away. I stayed for mine, but [was] still put off without liberty of being heard by the Messenger. And after 4 o'clock, when their Lordships [had] gone and he was at leisure, I went and begged to know what had become of my petition. 'What ship do you belong to?' said he. 'To the *Vigilant*,' said I. 'Who is the Captain?' said he. 'Captain Douglas,' said I. 'Oh,' says he, 'you must go in there to that man; he'll tell you.' So 'twas Mr. Rham. I told him I was a schoolmaster on board the *Vigilant*, and came to have my warrant. 'Oh,' says he, 'to have it confirmed. Captain Douglas sent it up; 'tis here somewhere. But where is your certificate from him and from Trinity House?' 'Sir,' said I, 'I gave them into the hands of the Messenger, and he promised to deliver them in.' 'He never did,' said Mr. Rham. Then he called the Messenger and asked him. The Messenger said he knew nothing of it. 'Sir,' said I, 'I gave them into your own hand, enclosed under a superscription to Mr. Corbett.' 'Why did you do so? They should have been sent in here and not to Mr. Corbett, to be carried up to the Board. Folks are so afraid lest their papers should be lost. You should have delivered them open. Why didn't you tell me?' 'Sir,' said I, 'you would not hear me, though I attempted four or five times, you still every time put me off.' Then they pretended to find 'em among the papers not carried up to the Board, but couldn't, so they said I must come next day.

Then I went back to the house and told the woman that by following her directions and sealing up my papers they were not carried to the Clerks as they should have been, but carried up to the Board, and so now were lost, for the Clerks couldn't find 'em. She said 'twas impossible they should be lost, that there never was such a thing heard of, of all the millions that from year to year were sent in there, and besides stood to it that the method she directed me to and not that which the Clerks told me was the right. But all her talk was still in good humor. So I came away home.

Wednesday, July 1. Went up again. Called at the Ship, where see the attorney and told him what happened to my papers yesterday. He insisted that his method was right, that my papers must go up to the Board and lie there till they were read and passed upon in their turn, and then if granted were to be sent down to the Clerks; that the other method was really to make the Clerks the Lords of the Admiralty, for their Lordships were to grant me my warrant. This satisfied me, only I now see that it might be a long time before all this could be done. I went again. The Clerks told me to bring my certificate and I should have my warrant. I told them they knew how it was, that I had actually brought my certificate and already given it in. They said they could do nothing, I must bring it. I said I hadn't it to bring; it was in the Office. 'Tis not here,' said they, 'tis got into a wrong channel and 'twill now be very difficult to find it.' They made me mad. 'Sir,' said I, 'if I go again to Trinity House and get another certificate and bring it here, will that do?' 'Yes,' said they. So I left them and walked about the hall, where I met with one

who was soliciting for a lieutenantancy on board the *Vigilant* (for I had seen him the day before with Mr. Eaton, who told me so). I asked him how he succeeded. 'Why,' says he, 'the Clerks have lost my petition and papers, or mislaid them, for they can't find them.' On that, as we walked backward and forward to and from the inner door, I took the opportunity when we was at the door to speak out so loud that all in the hall, and the Messenger and Clerks within should hear me, to say, 'Why, just so I am served. I brought in my certificates [*sic*] in order to have my warrant affirmed for schoolmaster on board the *Vigilant*, and they have lost 'em or mislaid 'em, so as they can't be found. I paid 15s. for my certificate at Trinity House, and now I must go back again and pay 15s. more for another certificate from Trinity House, or else I can't have my warrant time enough to go down to Portsmouth before the *Vigilant* sails. And then I shall be left behind without any money in my pocket to subsist on till the *Vigilant* returns, and so shall starve.' At this I see the Messenger walk quick backward and forward and at every time look at me with a look that showed he was frightened. And indeed my thus speaking had its effect, as appeared the next time I came there.

Thursday, July 2. Was discouraged from going up, so went to Mr. Mountaine's to know the method how to get a new certificate, resolving to go but once more to the Admiralty to know whether they had found the old one, and if not then immediately to get a new one. Mr. Mountaine not at home, but his wife was, to whom I told the case. She said no doubt I might have a new certificate on the next court day, which was Saturday, or, said she, 'perhaps they'll give you a private one today.' So went to Trinity House. See the Clerk, who told me I could not have one today, so I came home.

Friday, July 3. Rainy all the forenoon, so was sadly discouraged, for I could get no greatcoat or cloak. However, by snatches I got up to Pepper Alley Wharf and watched for a sculler who had a tolerable good one. At length I see such an one, and agreed with him to carry me up if he would lend me his greatcoat to fling over my shoulders till I got there. This he readily did. So I got there about 2 o'clock, and after getting a little dinner at 3 I went to the Office (Rham's), where they all now seemed ready to do for me and said my warrant was writ, but only wanted two of the Lords to sign it, and if I came about half an hour hence it would be done. This I did, and asked them whether there [were] any fees, that I was ready to give what was customary. He said there was sometimes, but there was no occasion from me. Then I offered him a guinea, and begged him to accept of it out of the little that I had. 'No,' says he, 'tis no matter, I shall take nothing for your warrant.' Then I turned to the underclerk and offered the same, waiting till Rham was gone out, but he would take nothing neither, but gave me my warrant without it.⁶³ And glad was I, for I had but a guinea and an half left in the world, and just before this the woman at the Ship told me that for a 4th rate the fee was a guinea and sixpence, but for a 3d rate was 2 guineas and a shilling,⁶⁴ which made me tremble. I came back to her

⁶³ Shipton, in Sibley, *op. cit.*, VI, 278, erroneously believing that the S. P. G. and not the Admiralty is concerned here, calls this 'one of the greatest miracles in the history of the Church of England.' It is, rather, a bright moment in the annals of bureaucracy.

⁶⁴ Third-rates were vessels of from 64 to 84 guns on two complete decks; fourth-rates had from 50 to 60 guns on two decks. See H. D. Traill and J. S. Mann, ed., *Social England* (illustrated ed., London, 1904), V, 25. *Vigilant* had 64 guns. Clowes, *op. cit.*, III, 122.

again and told her I had got my warrant and that they would take nothing for it. Then she said, 'You are well off! There are few schoolmasters they would use so well.' So I came home.

Saturday, July 4th. Went to Mr. Mountaine's to know the method with my warrant and certificate to get my bounty money. He told me he was not certain of the true channel, but he believed I must go to the Ticket Office first, or at least that if I went there they would direct me where to go. So I went and found out where it was. One of the Clerks to whom I addressed asked me for my warrant and certificate, and after he had read them said they would do, but there was no court day today, I must come on Monday. So I went home.

Sabbath, July 5th. Stayed at home A.M. The New Light preacher dined here. They all went with him by agreement, as if contriving to make me go again. But I said, 'Well, I think to go and hear the Church preacher, as I have heard yours.' So then we parted and I went in and got a seat in the alley⁶⁵ just at the font, so I could see the curate read Prayers and also preach in his pulpit. He made a good sermon, and his gesture and [illeg.] and his delivery and pronunciation ought to be remembered and compared with other clergymen whom I hear. There is a general agreement between his and Gosport [illeg.] curate.

N.B. Tuesday, June 30, [1747]⁶⁶ and Wednesday and Friday, July 1 and 3d, at which days I was at the Admiralty Office, how the Lords of the Admiralty came in tripping along like boys (running [?] their heads before 'em), without any [illeg.] or [illeg.] but yet all in the hall with their hats off as a man! And when they came out 'twas just so and at one word of theirs for their coaches, all the waiters [?] in the readiest, swiftest and humblest dispatch preparing them, without any notice taken of them or of the thing by their Lordships!

N.B. What English told me was the reason that Scammel and wife would have it (by all ways of hinting, of provocation, of kind treatment) that I had *θε πος*⁶⁷ was because then they should have more money for my being there—infernal! Yet when she bedded Stokes with me she solemnly declared he was sound and only had the sad sore eyes, and afterwards, when his case was no longer hid, declared again that there could not possibly be any danger. All this till the very day he was forced to go upstairs and salivate.⁶⁸ This might be to make me catch [?] it!

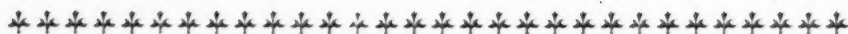
⁶⁵ Aisle.

⁶⁶ In Thomas Prince's hand.

⁶⁷ The Greek characters spell 'the pox.'

⁶⁸ To secrete saliva, generally through the use of mercury.

William L. Sachse was born in 1912 in Morris, Illinois. He was educated at Phillips Andover, Yale, and Oxford (Rhodes Scholar, 1935-1937). [Degrees: B.A. (Yale), B. Litt. (Oxon.), Ph.D. (Yale).] In 1938 he married Nancy Betty Davis of New Haven, Connecticut and they have two sons. Since 1938 he has been a member of the Department of History, University of Wisconsin; and Professor since 1949. In World War II he served as officer in USNR; attached 1943-1946 to U. S. Naval Academy. His publications include: The Diary of Roger Lowe, 1663-74 (1938), The Minutes of the Norwich Court of Mayoralty, 1630-31 (1942), The Colonial American in Britain (1956), and various articles.



Le Musée de la Marine, Paris

BY H. PHILIP SPRATT

THE inception of the French maritime collections can be found in an Ordonnance which Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683) addressed in 1679 to all superintendents of the naval arsenals: 'L'intention du Roy est qu'il soit fait en chaque arsenal, des modèles en petit, dans lesquels les mesures seront réduites au 1:12 ou au 1:20 de toutes leurs proportions et mesures; et il faudra que ces modèles soient faits avec autant d'exactitude qu'ils servent perpétuellement pour les mesures et proportions à tous les vaisseaux qui seront construits dans l'avenir.' Ambitious superintendents vied with one another in the splendor of their ship models, some of the finest specimens of which were exhibited at the court in Versailles. In 1748, Duhamel du Monceau (1700-1782), Inspecteur Général of the Marine, presented his fine naval collection, which the Comte Jean-Frédéric de Maurepas (1701-1781) installed at the Louvre.

In a short unillustrated note,¹ published before the outbreak of World War II, the present writer traced the history of these French national collections from the first public exhibition, at the Louvre² in 1801, of marine pictures and 'plusieurs beaux modèles des vaisseaux de la République.' The briefest recapitulation should therefore suffice. The exhibits of 1801 were later added to another famous collection, that of the Institut de France in the so-called 'Salle de la Marine' at the Louvre, which Amédée-Pierre Zédé (1791-1856) was authorized in 1827 to develop as the Musée Dauphin. The new museum was thus founded as the consolidation of two older collections.

To this nucleus were added the ship models which had been built to the order of Louis XVI and assembled at Trianon; another valuable collection of naval material was acquired from the Ministre de la Marine, who also ordered the transference of models from the naval ports to the new museum, renamed meanwhile the Musée Naval. In 1830 an annual

¹ H. Philip Spratt, 'Le Musée de Marine, Paris,' *The Mariner's Mirror*, 24 (1938), 105-108.

² *Journal des Débats* (Paris), 15 Thermidor 1801.

allocation was made to the Ministère for the construction of naval models, built to a uniform scale; but this was discontinued a short time later, and the museum had to depend more on occasional presentations from the arsenals and from amateur modelmakers.

However, a small workshop had been installed at the Louvre, and some fine models of carracks and caravels prior to the Louis XIII period were made on the premises. Vice-Amiral Edmond Pâris (1806-1893) was appointed curator in 1871; he donated to the museum his private collection of books on naval construction, and later compiled an authoritative memoir.³ His other monumental work *Souvenirs de Marine*, published in 1892, was also written at the museum.

The historical collections were further developed, apart from the interruption of World War I, for the use of naval officers and other students of maritime affairs; and the beautiful ship models on public exhibition never failed to attract even the most casual visitors and children to the Louvre, despite well-founded complaints⁴ about 'la mauvaise disposition des locaux.' The old 'Musée de Marine' at the Louvre remained under the Direction des Musées Nationaux until 1919, when it was transferred to the Ministère de la Marine. The romantic charm of these collections found expression in a quaint little sonnet, the first verse of which runs:

Au Louvre je vais voir ces délicats modèles
Qui montrent aux oisifs les richesses d'un port,
Je connais l'armement des vaisseaux de haut bord
Et la voilure des avisos hirondelles.

Before the outbreak of World War II, it was decided in 1937 to allocate to the Musée de la Marine part of the new Palais de Chaillot, then in construction on the site of the demolished Trocadéro, opposite the Tour Eiffel. The proposed transference of the collections had, however, to be postponed. In 1939 the most precious models were packed into 613 cases, and sent to castles in the Loire for their protection from aerial bombardment. The remainder of the collections was stored in the basement of the Palais de Chaillot; and under these sad circumstances the reinstallation of the Musée de la Marine can be said to have commenced.

In 1943, despite all the material difficulties of the occupation, it was found possible to effect the return to Paris of a small part of the collec-

³ Edmond Pâris, *Le Musée de Marine du Louvre: histoire, description, construction, représentation statistique des navires à rames et à voiles, d'après les modèles et les dessins des Galeries du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1883).

⁴ Jean Destrem, 'Le Musée de Marine du Louvre,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (Paris), XV (1919), 269-296 et 381-400.

tions; and in June of that year the museum, under the innocent title 'Salon des Peintres de la Marine,' was reopened.⁵ The public response was enormous. Parisians lined up six abreast in a massive column which stretched out into the middle of the Place du Trocadéro. The French Navy was still out of action; but this brave little fleet in miniature kept the spirit afloat.

After the Germans had made their hurried departure from Paris, no time was lost to open another exhibition under the much less innocent title 'La Marine au Combat.' This was followed in 1946 with a brilliant exhibition of maritime pictures 'Vieille Marine.' Then another disastrous 'occupation' befell the museum; the Palais de Chaillot was requisitioned for the United Nations Conference in 1948. All the ship models, pictures and other exhibits so laboriously assembled had to be cleared from the public halls and stored in the basement; the museum remained closed for eighteen months. Its final restoration was effected in 1949, and the results since achieved at the Palais de Chaillot are eloquent for the Director, Capitaine Jacques Vichot, and his numerous devoted collaborators.

The present Musée de la Marine, in the Palais de Chaillot, is situated on the north bank of the Seine, opposite the Tour Eiffel; the Métro station is Trocadéro. The museum is open to the public (except Tuesdays) from 10 A.M. to 6 P.M. March to September, and from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M. October to February. The normal entrance fee is 40 francs (about 12 cents); for disabled service men, and for visitors in parties, 20 francs; for school classes, 5 francs each; sailors, soldiers and airmen in uniform are admitted free.

The maritime collections are set out in the western part of the Palais de Chaillot, and cover about 70,000 square feet floor area. Their scope has become much more comprehensive than it was at the Louvre; the collections are, in fact, now classified into sixteen main divisions:⁶ (i) Ports and arsenals, (ii) Naval construction, (iii) Armaments, (iv) Nautical science, (v) Warships, (vi) Merchant marine, (vii) Fisheries, (viii) Pleasure boats, (ix) Special craft, (x) Exotic craft, (xi) Curiosities, (xii) Aeronautics, (xiii) Ocean science, (xiv) Marine art, (xv) Historical souvenirs, and (xvi) Medals and coins.

In the center of the spacious entrance hall, the model *Louis XV* of 1692 has been placed alone for its rich decoration. This superb piece from the

⁵ Jacques Vichot, 'Le transfert et la réinstallation du Musée de la Marine du Louvre à Chaillot,' *Rapports du Troisième Congrès International de la Mer* (Ostende, 18 au 22 Juillet 1946), pp. 494-498.

⁶ Musée de la Marine, *Catalogue numérique* (Paris, 1946), pp. 5-11.

Duhamel du Monceau collection, was made for the edification of Louis XV in his childhood. At the side of the hall is a sales counter, where publications, maritime souvenirs, and even small but accurate ship models made in the museum workshops (see Plate 10) can be purchased for the benefit of naval charities.

The first part of the exhibition hall is devoted to oared vessels. These commence with a model (constructed in the museum workshops) of the ancient Grecian boat *Sophia* which carried about 200 oarsmen and soldiers, and include reproductions of the old Scandinavian pirate boats now preserved at Oslo. Others represented include a British royal yacht of 1682, and a small Flemish vessel of about 1720. The rather more spectacular models of *Royale* which carried 378 oarsmen, and of *Dauphine*, about 1690, with oars spread out, form effective centerpieces.

One of the finest models in this section (scale 1:18) shows *Réale*, of about 1700, which carried fifty oarsmen. Some of the authentic sculptured panels, about fifteen in all, of this famous vessel are mounted on a full-sized profile of the stern. The side wall cases contain small models, marine charts, and naval relics. Mounted on the wall is a fine portrait in oils of Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642). There are no side windows in this part of the museum; diffused illumination is obtained from the roof. This itself is hidden from direct view by transverse diffusers placed across the aperture between the walls, which are curved or vaulted inwards at the top (see Plate 9). The walls themselves are quite plain, in neutral color; there is no architectural decoration to compete with the ship models. The floors are of inlaid hardwood.

Particular interest attaches to the model of a curious sail vessel of about 1785, intended to be supplemented with oar propulsion, but never built. The lines of the hull resemble those of a clipper; the vessel is pierced on both sides with small portholes for the oars. This is said to be about the last known representation of an oared warship. Ahead of us stands the *Canot de l'Empereur* (see Plate 9), the decorative oared boat in which Napoléon I entered Antwerp on 30 April 1810, and which was later preserved at Brest. To install this remarkable and impressive exhibit at the Musée de la Marine in 1945, the walls of the Palais de Chaillot had to be breached. It should be noted that an excellent model (one-fourth size) of the boat is still preserved at the Scheepvaart Museum in Antwerp.⁷

Sail is introduced with models of the famous *Santa María* of Columbus, constructed to the scale of 1:20 in accordance with the Spanish researches

⁷ Am. Dermul, *Le Musée de Marine* (Anvers, 1943), pp. 12-13; H. Philip Spratt, 'Maritime museums of the Netherlands,' *The Mariner's Mirror*, 36 (1950), 235.

for the Fourth Centenary celebrations,⁸ and of the French warship *Soleil Royal* of 1690, with fine sculptures executed in the museum workshops. Another notable model, in section, of the 1757 period, shows a wealth of internal ship construction. Models of *Sans Pareil* and *Protecteur* of 1760, and *Artésien* of 1765 with sails set, deserve special mention; also the rather heavier-built Dutch warship *Bellona* of about 1780, set in a model sea, so that the complete hull remains visible above and below the water line.

The smaller model *Muiron* of 1798, scale 1:72, was made for Bonaparte, and placed in his bedroom at Malmaison.⁹ Of the same period is the impressive demonstration model, scale 1:16, of the three-masted *Océan*, which was used in the naval schools, and (exhibited in a wall case) the remarkable model of *Ville de Dieppe*, constructed entirely of ivory. The final phase of the sail warship is now approached with the model of *Rivoli*, built at Venice in 1812, and shown here on 'camels.' At the side is the sculptured female prow from *Amphitrite*, on which Napoléon sailed to the Isle of Aix in 1815. An instructive arsenal model represents the launch of *Suffren* in 1829, one of the finest and most characteristic vessels of the Restoration period;¹⁰ another model, in funereal black, shows *Belle-Poule* of 1834, as she bore the remains of the dead Empereur to France in 1840.

Visitors to the Musée de la Marine should devote particular attention to the famous series 'Les Ports de France' of Claude Joseph Vernet (1714-1789), painted about 1752-1765. Each of the thirteen canvases on exhibition is a masterpiece of pictorial art and a unique historical document.¹¹ In their midst stands the uncased demonstration model of *Royal Louis* (see Plate 9), about the same period 1757-1760. The last sail three-decker in the French Navy was *Valmy* of 1847, represented by a beautiful model constructed in ebony and ivory, the work of six modelists for five years. *Valmy* remained in service at Brest as a naval school until 1890.

The introduction of steam power is represented with the authentic scale 1:24 model (see Plate 10) which the Marquis Claude de Jouffroy d'Abbans (1751-1832)¹² submitted in 1784 to the Académie des Sciences, after his successful steamboat experiments on the river Saône in 1783. The steam piston was connected to a double-ratchet mechanism (*crémillère*), which produced a continuous rotative motion at the paddle shaft.¹³

⁸ Rafael Monleón, *La nao Santa María* (Madrid, 1892); H. Philip Spratt, 'El Museo Naval de Madrid,' *THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE*, XV (1975), 52.

⁹ *Histoire de la marine*, éditée par *Illustration* (Paris, 1934), p. 221.

¹⁰ Jean Marie, *Demi siècles: évolution de la marine marchande depuis le XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1951), p. 32.

¹¹ Musée de la Marine, *Catalogue d'exposition* (Paris, 1950), pp. 25-27.

¹² Jouffroy d'Abbans: Exposition Bi-centenaire, *Catalogue* (Paris, 1951), p. 20.

¹³ H. Philip Spratt, *Marine engineering* (London: Science Museum, 1973), Part II, pp. 8-9.

There follows *Sphinx* of 1829, the first steam vessel in the French Navy, fitted with side-lever machinery of 160 nominal horsepower, by William Fawcett (1772-1842) at Liverpool, of which an operable model (scale 1:10) is also exhibited. In 1833 *Sphinx* towed to France the Obélisque de Luxor, now erected in the Place de la Concorde at Paris. Illuminated dioramas in the side cases represent famous incidents in French naval history.

The first French screw warship was *Corse* of 1842, with a speed of 10 knots; the first to attain more than 15 knots was *Napoléon* of 1850, built of wood at Toulon; models of both are on exhibition. Also to be noted is *Gloire* of 1859, the first armored warship;¹⁴ *Solférino* of 1861, the first ram; *Rochambeau* built at New York in 1865; and *Bouvet* of 1866, which did battle with the Germans in 1870. *Tempête* of 1876 shows a later class of ram vessel, while the second-class British cruiser H.M.S. *Secern* is also represented; built of steel in 1885, she attained a speed of 18 knots. The model of *Liberté*, built at Saint-Nazaire in 1905, is said to represent the last ram cruiser.

The section devoted to armaments contains a well-ordered series of models, to show development from the simple carronades of about 1775, to the modern quadruple turrets as fitted on *Richelieu* in 1939. One formidable exhibit was a primitive cannon ball of stone. Further on were sectioned torpedoes and naval mines. The visitor now enters the last hall of the outward promenade, which overlooks the river Seine, and is devoted to modern naval developments. Here are models of *Jeanne d'Arc* of 1930, as reconditioned in 1949; *Dunkerque* of 1935, which was scuttled at Toulon in November 1942; and the fine model (scale 1:100, made in the museum workshops) of the 35,000-ton battleship *Richelieu*, built at Brest in 1939. Modern aircraft carriers, cruisers, torpedo boats and submarines are also well represented. In this hall is another sales counter, similar to the one at the main entrance, already described. The walls are decorated with some attractive pictures of modern service in the French Navy.

The return promenade comprises the merchant marine, where are shown models of the once-famous clipper ships, the four-masted bark *Great Republic*, built at Boston in 1853, and the French steel-hulled, three-masted bark *Mac-Nahon*, built in 1898 for the Société des Voiliers Nantais. An impressive water color shows the American paddle steamer *Fulton*; built at New York in 1856 and named after the steamboat pioneer Robert Fulton (1765-1815), she ran on the Havre transatlantic route, and later served as a transport in the American Civil War.¹⁵ In an historical se-

¹⁴ James P. Baxter, *The introduction of the ironclad warship* (Cambridge, Mass., 1913), p. 4.

¹⁵ H. Philip Spratt, *Transatlantic paddle steamers* (Glasgow, 1951), pp. 52-54.

quence of fifteen small models, all made to the same scale, one notices the famous *Quevilly*, a four-masted ship built at Rouen in 1897; she was later fitted with diesel motors, and thus became in 1901 the first transatlantic motor ship.

There follow models of the small Scottish paddle steamer *Colomba*, built in 1878, which remained in service until 1936; of the French Atlantic liner *Provence*, built at Penhoët in 1906; and a fine sectioned model of another French liner with elaborate internal details that are rare to find. Such models attract more attention, and have more educational value, than half a dozen 'exterior' ship models. The familiar outlines of the old *Rouen* of 1912, which used to run on the Newhaven-Dieppe service, aroused memories of happier times, of departures *en vacance* before World War II, as did also the model (scale 1:200) of the old *Normandie*, launched in 1932, and once proud holder of the Atlantic Blue Riband, which came to a sad end in New York.

Small sail craft used in the fisheries around the coasts of France are well represented, also Dutch, Italian and other Mediterranean coastal craft, both sail and motor-driven. The small section on polar exploration includes a model of *Fram*, now preserved at Oslo, in which F. Nansen (1861-1930) made his Arctic expeditions in 1893-1896. The special reinforcements of the hull are shown in section, while other polar relics are exhibited in the same case. Here is also a marble bust of the French explorer Jean B. Charcot (1867-1936), and pictures of *Pourquoi-Pas* of 1908, in which he sailed to Iceland and Greenland.

The models of exotic craft, most of them constructed at the Louvre under the direction of Vice-Amiral Pâris, form a colorful collection which has at last been exhibited as it deserves. The models have been set out, in modern showcases with neat bronze frames, to obtain the most pleasant artistic effect, rather than to observe a strict academic classification. The tall side windows here face southward, over the Seine, and the soft fluorescent illumination from above enables these beautiful collections to be seen at all hours. One notices a fine specimen of primitive canoe carved from the solid tree trunk, and numerous models of coracles and small native craft from all parts of the world. At the end of the hall stands the marble bust of Vice-Amiral Edmond Pâris, to whom the Musée de la Marine owes so much.

The administrative offices, library and documentation service are situated above the modern naval collections. The library is said to contain at

¹⁰ H. Philip Pratt, *Outline history of transatlantic steam navigation* (London, 1950), pp. 50-51.

present about 10,000 volumes on naval construction and maritime history. All this literature is documented in a triple card index, which contains alphabetical entries under authors, titles and catchwords. The documentation of the museum collections is classified in the sixteen main divisions,¹⁷ already enumerated, and then into further subdivisions. Each model or other exhibit has a separate dossier, which contains all the relevant technical and historical details. The service also includes a reference collection of more than 15,000 manuscripts, plans, and other maritime documents.¹⁷ The museum workshops (see Plate 5) have fifteen craftsmen for the maintenance and repair of the antique ship models, and for the construction of modern exhibits, and of small models for sale to the public, as already mentioned.

The reserve or stored collections are rather numerous, since out of some 800 ship models on the museum inventories, not more than about 600 are at present on exhibition. Of the exotic collections, not more than about one half are exhibited. The remainder of these small models are stored on the shelves of dust-proof cupboards built of timber, and can be produced at once for consultation. Other models and exhibits are stored in the basement of the museum; but it is hoped that as the installation develops, part of this basement will be opened up for exhibition purposes.

There is no lecture hall at the Musée de la Marine, but conferences and lectures are held in the exhibition space. The models, which are well spaced out, can be closed up to provide clear floor area as required. Reunions are also held in the premises of the Association des Amis des Musées de la Marine, who publish two excellent illustrated quarterlies, *Neptunia*, devoted to maritime art and history, and the *Triton* for amateur ship modelmakers, full of practical and artistic detail.

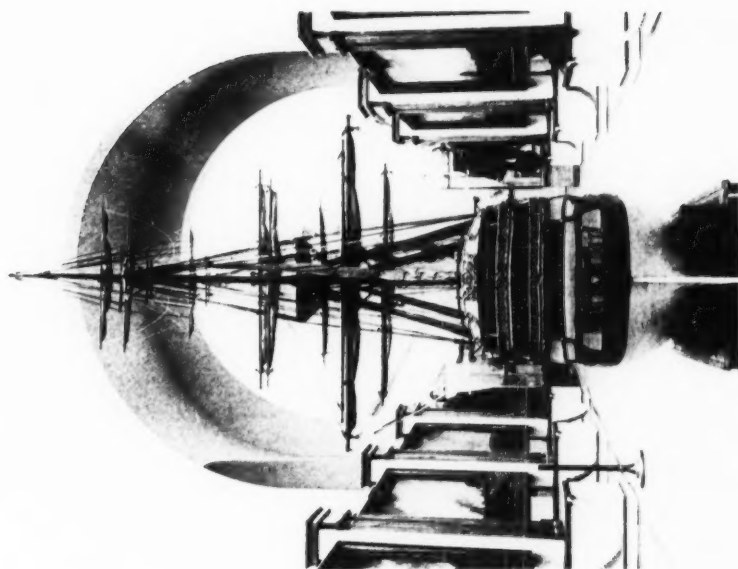
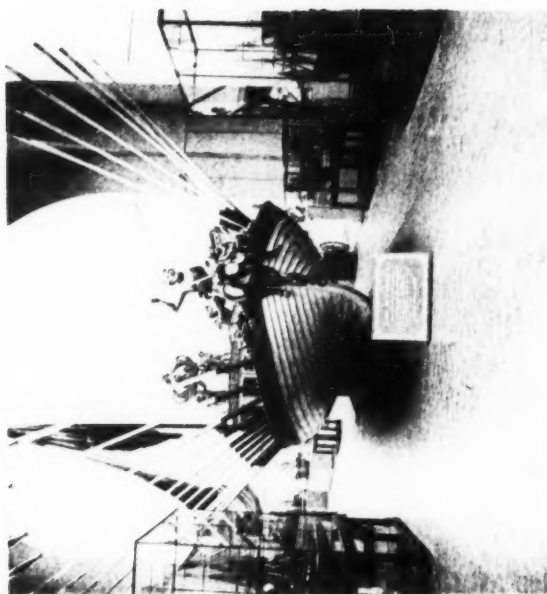
Loans of models are effected with the other smaller maritime museums at the French seaports, such as at Brest, Havre, Bordeaux, Toulon and Marseilles, which suffered much in the aerial bombardments of World War II. Such loans are, of course, confined to the more robust and less valuable models. Experience shows that the movement of delicate ship models cannot be other than detrimental, and can often be disastrous. The staff of the Musée de la Marine consists of the Director, Capitaine Jacques Vichot, the Sous-Directeur, three archivists, fifteen model craftsmen, six warders, and about fifteen sailors to help as laborers. There is also much devoted amateur collaboration from the Amis des Musées de

¹⁷ Jacques Vichot, 'Le Musée de la Marine: illustration de notre histoire navale,' *Cahiers Français d'Information* (Paris, Novembre 1959), pp. 9-13.

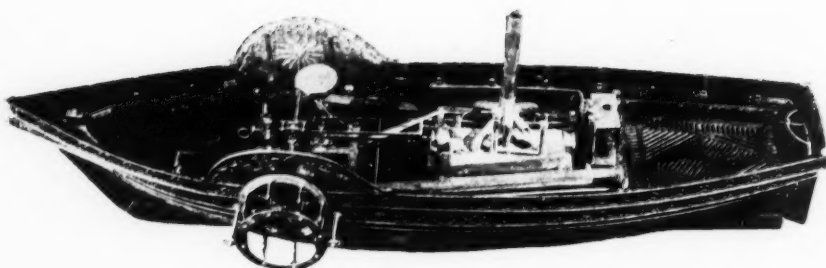
la Marine. The records of museum attendance show that about 300,000 visitors are received in the course of a normal year.

In conclusion, I should like to render sincere thanks for the courtesy with which I have been received from time to time at the Musée de la Marine, for the helpfulness of the Director and of Monsieur Pierre Bohé, and for the illustrations reproduced with this article.

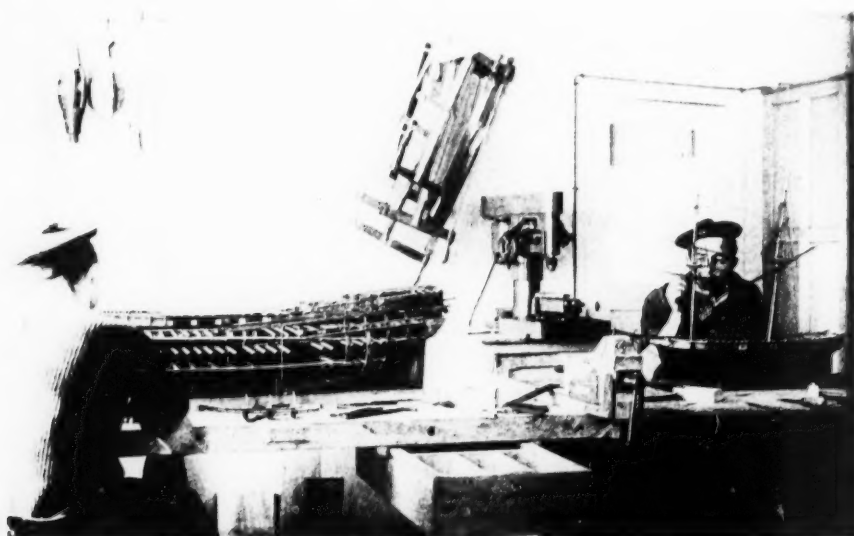
II. Philip Spratt is well known to NEPTUNE readers as the author of 'El Museo Naval de Madrid' and other articles. He is Assistant Librarian at the Science Museum, London and an authority on steamship history as well as maritime museums.



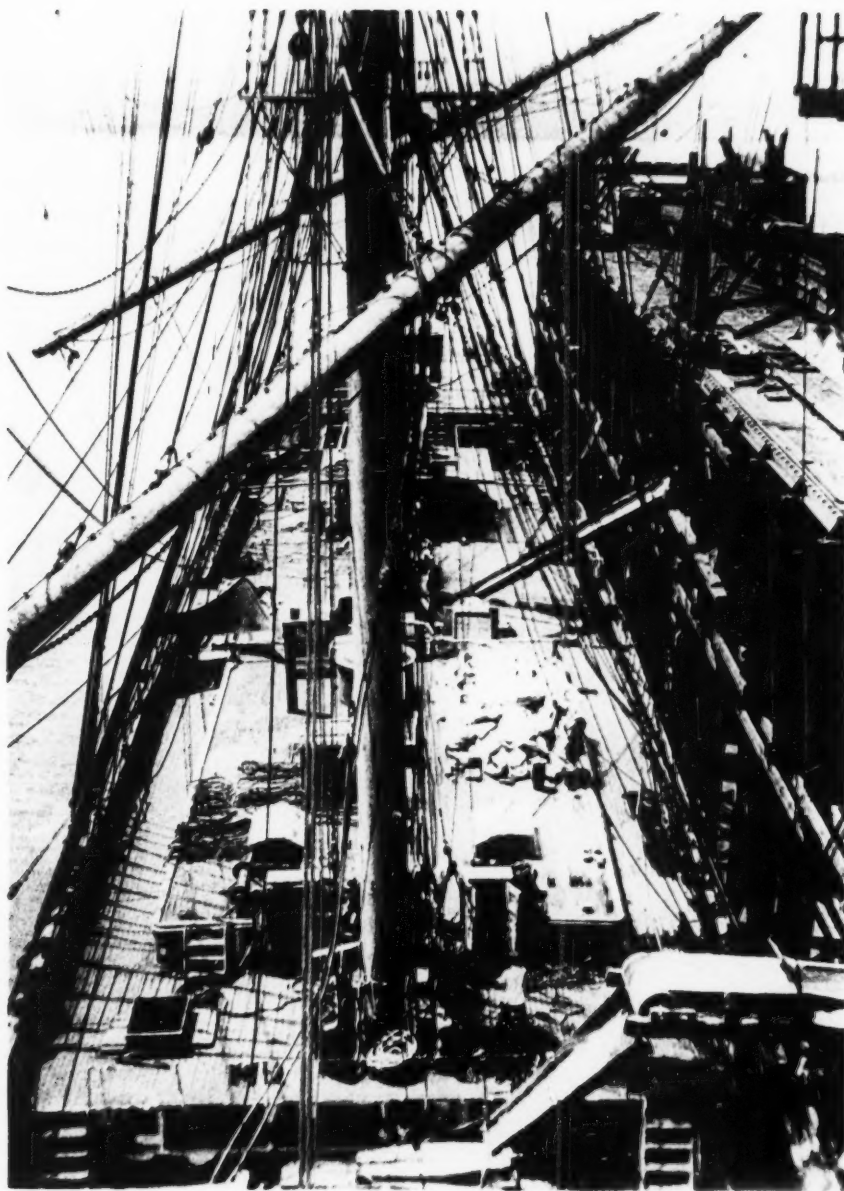
Left: Canot de l'Empereur Napoleon I in the Musée de la Marine. *Right:* Uncased model of *Royal Louis* in the Musée de la Marine.



Upper: Marquis de Jouffroy steamboat model in the Musée de la Marine.

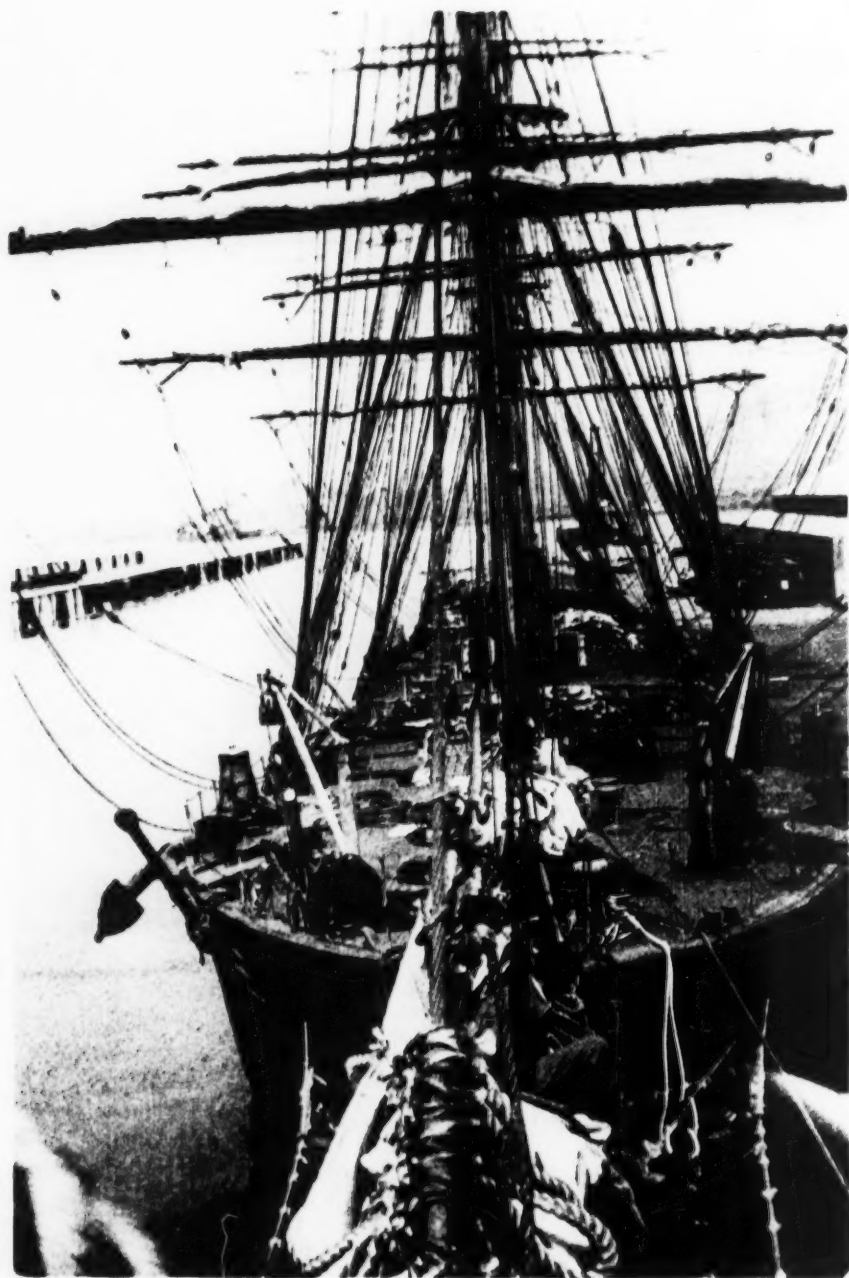


Lower: Model construction and maintenance at the Musée de la Marine.




Star of Lapland loading salt in Oakland Creek for her last passage, July 1936
Photograph shows trunk arrangement of amidship house.

Photograph by Harry Dring



Star of Lapland at Alaska Packers docks, Alameda, July 1936. Sails are bent for the passage to the scrapyard in Japan, and the Japanese crew is aboard.

Photograph by Karl Kortum



Case-oil and Canned Salmon: Star of Lapland, ex Atlas

PART II

BY HAROLD HUYCKE

Wherever *Atlas* discharged her California cargo, in Brooklyn or elsewhere, she was soon again put on loading berth and was ready for sea by the end of the year.

Once more Standard Oil Company's great white ship took in a cargo of case-oil to her marks, in New York Harbor, and sailed on New Year's Eve 1905. Seventy days out, in 40°-10' S., 45°-59' E. 'a great wave broke over the vessel, abaft the starboard fore rigging, smashing the starboard boats and doing considerable damage to forward bridge.' In the afternoon of that day, 11 March 1906, the sea moderated while *Atlas* ran on.

Five months out of New York brought *Atlas* to the approaches of Yedo Bay, below Yokohama. The next day, 1 June, she was towed to her discharging berth and moored to both anchors where the stevedores began unloading case-oil. The crew was employed in sending down the sails, while the sailmaker and carpenter were 'employed at their respective trades.' H. Hackney, the third mate, reported sick and was attended by a Dr. Warden who came from shore.

Captain Jack Amberman was plagued by crew troubles as his fine ship lay at her moorings, while empty cargo lighters were maneuvered alongside and towed away deep loaded. It was during this period that *Atlas*, which under Captain McKay had been more or less of a family ship, earned the dubious nickname of 'hell ship.' There were 'hell ships' on the U. S. Pacific coast before and after the days of *Atlas*, few of which escaped the attention of the crusading *Coast Seamen's Journal*. Mr. Walter MacArthur compiled his 'Red Record' for all to see, and not a few ships of all nationalities figured in its bloody pages—many not without good reason. A good many of the down-Fasters were forever damned by 'Fo'c's'l Jack' as being brutal ships to work and live in. The prolific pen of Mac-

Arthur not only championed the cause of seamen in their efforts to better their life at sea and ashore, but soundly thrashed the magistrates who 'whitewashed' or dismissed cases of brutality and abuse clearly proven—at least to the editor of the *Journal*.

The incidents that caused the addition of the name of *Atlas* to the roster of hell ships in 1906 were not particularly unusual. For accuracy and clarity we have the ship's log entries at hand, plainly and simply outlining the activities on board the ship as she lay in Yokohama, in addition to the reports of the *Coast Seamen's Journal* which of course presented the case for the sailors involved. It is an old story and from it we might conclude that for all the improvements and changes that have taken place in the intervening years, human nature hasn't changed much, whether it be in sail or steam.

From the log, kept by the mate, we note:

3 June, Sunday. 5:30 A.M. started discharging, and worked to 1 P.M., taking out 12,201 cases. On Dr. Warden's arrival today at 2 P.M. to attend H. Hackney, he was found asleep and drunk in his berth, having sold his oilskins and sea-boots to obtain the liquor. His sickness is said by Dr. Warden to be diabetes. During the P.M. fresh southerly winds, cloudy.

4 June, Monday. 5:30 A.M. stevedores started discharging till 7:15 A.M., stop account of rain. at 8:15 A.M. Francis McKay, B. Griel, and Fride Scalberg, AB's demanded to see the Consul; when told they would have to wait until the Captain went ashore they refused to work. [At] 9:30 A.M. additional AB's refused to work. At 7 P.M. on the captain's return, the above eight men were called aft and asked if they were willing to resume work in the morning. They all refused except Otto Witte. While placing them in irons, Francis McKay called on all hands to mutinize and ran forward; when followed by the Second Mate and me, he ran up the fore rigging and from there hailed a passing sampan. As he could not get down on deck without passing me, he went out on the starboard fore yardarm and from there slid down the brace and jumped overboard. He was picked up by the sampan, and although they were told to bring him back on board, they pulled on shore with him. Of the prisoners, B. Griel was placed in the store-room by himself, he being to all appearances the ringleader, and the other five in the sail room. H. Hackney, Third Mate, taken to the hospital.

5 June (Tuesday) At 9:15 A.M. stevedores started discharging from the side ports, working two gangs. Total discharged today, 10,300 cases; total to date, 44,653 cases. 7 A.M., B. Griel AB was released and sent ashore to the Consul and at 8:30 A.M. the captain took Jose (Frenchy) with him. The remaining five still refusing to go to work were taken out of the sail locker, placed in different lockers under the fo'c's'l deck and placed on bread and water. 10:30 A.M. Otto Witte was missed from his work. Search was made all over the ship, and in the lighters alongside, but couldn't find him. He likely got away in a lighter, two of them having left about 10 A.M.

And then, three days later:

'8 June. Nineteen men of the crew were paid off today . . .,' and soon afterward a crew of Japanese were signed on, and passed by the doctor as soon as the ship was ready for sea.

As soon as her ballast was in and trimmed, *Atlas* sailed on 19 June for Honolulu, having been chartered to load sugar in the Islands for Delaware Breakwater.

About a month after *Atlas* sailed from Yokohama, the bootless Mr. Henry Hackney arrived at San Francisco on the U. S. Army Transport *Sheridan*, and promptly got the ear of a *Journal* reporter. The 18 July edition carried another version of *Atlas*' woes:

Henry Hackney, late Third mate of the American ship *Atlas* arrived at San Francisco on 15 July as passenger on the USAT *Sheridan*. He brought a tale of cruelty that savors of the old hell-ship days, and of brutality so inhuman and pronounced that every member of the crew of the *Atlas* left the vessel upon her arrival in Japan [from New York]. The *Atlas* arrived at Honolulu 15 July, commanded by Captain Amberman, where an investigation will probably be made.

Again, in the following edition appeared a further news item:

Ten seamen from the hell-ship *Atlas* were brought across the Pacific from Japan by the steamer *Montara* and landed at Seattle. Stories of cruelties practised on these men by Captain Amberman and the mates during passage from New York to Yokohama was recently published. Crew of over twenty left ship and complaints thoroughly investigated by Consul-General Miller.

What the Consul-General found upon his investigation, if anything at all, was not immediately made known, and apparently the matter came to an end. A review of the log reveals no trouble that would warrant severe disciplinary action on the part of the ship's officers during the course of the voyage from New York to Yokohama. Be it said, that complete crews were replaced by complete new crews on many occasions, not only in the continental United States, but in foreign ports as well, as *Atlas* transported her cargoes around the world. If her men before the mast were inclined to get paid off upon arrival in port after a five-month voyage they did so, or deserted and could not be held. Yokohama was a sailor's town, as was London, where two years before a whole crew of Scandinavians was signed on to replace that which sailed from New York many months before.

On 19 June *Atlas* left Yokohama with her Japanese crew setting the canvas as the tug and pilot worked the vessel down Tokyo Bay toward the harbor entrance. Just before noon, while still towing the sailing ship, the tug

took a sudden sheer and parted the towing hawser. However the ship gained the open sea and started the passage for Honolulu. At daylight on 15 July Molokai Light was sighted, and by mid-morning *Atlas* had arrived off Honolulu, twenty-six days from Yokohama. Shortly after she was moored safely alongside a ballast wharf in Honolulu Harbor, an Agriculture Department official came aboard and informed the master he would have to shift to an anchorage outside to discharge his ballast. While lying at anchor, the steamers *Mokahala* and *Niihau* came alongside with the sugar cargo which was transferred to the holds of the windjammer as soon as ballast discharging permitted. After loading a complete cargo of sugar, *Atlas* made ready for sea. On 12 August she set sail, hove up her anchor and with Diamond Head bearing east-northeast six miles off, Captain Amberman wrote in the log, 'From here I take my departure.'

Not long after *Atlas* sailed, her near sister *Astral* came into Honolulu with the intention of loading sugar, having been chartered for that purpose. However she missed her charter, and was then free to proceed to whichever port a further charter might provide, not a happy prospect for an American deepwaterman to face on short notice. The trade between the islands and the mainland of the United States was closed to all but American flag ships, though this protection by law was no guarantee of an abundance of cargoes. The Island ports provided more than enough headaches for masters of American sailing ships. Crews were hard to come by, if there happened to be a dearth of ships in port when an outward-bound vessel was ready to sail. It was common enough practice for a master of a ship ready to sail, to watch with a cold eye the inbound ships whose crews would provide fair game for a shorthanded ship. The Islands were attractive enough in themselves to encourage desertion; but the prospects of a Cape Horn voyage compared to a stay ashore in a tropical island port, or shipping on a coast-bound barkentine or schooner proved to be the usual problem of manning a master had to solve. Many a sailing-ship master wrote to his owners decrying the quality of seamen, if, indeed, he were fortunate enough to obtain any seamen for the nucleus of a crew; and more often than not he spent the first few weeks at sea, working his ship toward the Line, in trying to whip some sort of order into a crew comprised of former plantation hands or indolents from Honolulu's waterfront.

This state of affairs, coupled with the slim cargoes available to American ships, helped speed the end to the profitable operation of sailing ships in all but a few limited trades. Toward the end of the first decade of this century, prior to the opening of the Panama Canal and the begin-

ning of World War I. American shipowners such as the Sewalls and the Standard Oil Company were thankful enough to obtain charters from the U. S. Navy to transport coal from Philadelphia and Baltimore tipples to naval stations at Cavite and ports along the Pacific coast. The Cape Horn trade, which had for so many years been the mainstay of American deep-sea sail was dying, and few ships with the Stars and Stripes at the gaff beat westward around the Horn after 1910.

Liquid bulk-carriers had been introduced on the Pacific coast a few years previously when the big barkentine *Fullerton* was launched to carry bulk oil in the Pacific, and *Marion Chilcott* was converted to a sailing tanker for the transport of molasses and petroleum. But the case-oil trade to China died hard, probably because the five gallon tins of kerosene were the most practical and economical means of handling in the interior of China and the Oriental ports. Large tank farms and bulk-handling storage facilities were not readily available in the Orient for the steam tankers of the day, and the economical windjammer shared in that trade longer than in most of the others left open to her. Standard Oil Company sought charters for cargoes of coal when case-oil wasn't to be had, and managed to keep their three ships profitably employed at sea.

Captain Amberman steered a course to the southward and two weeks out of Honolulu 'furl'd all light sails, hauled up three courses' tacked ship and then hove to on the evening of 26 August, not caring to pass by Christmas Island during the night. At 4:30 A.M. the next morning, 'veered ship to the South, set all sails except royals.' South of the Line in $18^{\circ} 51'$ S. latitude and $161^{\circ} 27'$ W. longitude, the 'Old Man' felt the need of improving the trim of the ship, since the 'vessel [was] carrying too much weather helm,' and spent two days shifting 600 sacks of sugar from No. 1 hatch aft to No. 4, which improved her sailing performance. Eleven days later *Atlas* was in 35° S., 155° W. having successfully avoided the numerous islands in the south-central Pacific area. The day's entry in the log is as follows:

Moderate breeze, overcast. 4 P.M. wind haul Southwest. 6 A.M., wind haul South. 7 A.M. furl'd royals. 8 A.M. wind Southeast, tack ship to Southward. Noon, fresh breeze, overcast, rain. [In the P.M.] fresh breeze, overcast and constant rain. 7 P.M. furl'd three lower topgallantsails, crew took three hours to furl them.

If Captain Amberman had premonitions that his crew of Japanese, Porto Ricans and Kanakas would not stand up to the cold regions of the south, there was little he could do about it. He must get south of forty to

find the westerlies which would take him to Cape Horn and into the South Atlantic.

September 22. Noon 46-13 South, 142-36 East, Dist. 220 miles. Moderate gale, squally. Heavy sea running. 6 A.M. set main upper and lower topgallantsails. 8 A.M. strong breeze. Main upper and lower topgallants carried away in a heavy squall. Japanese crewman sick, off duty. Bend new main lower topgallants and furled them. 8 P.M. moderate gale with heavy squalls. Furled mizzen upper topsail. Barometer 28.70.

September 23d. Moderate gale. Noon, 47-30 South, 137-27 West. 1 A.M. had heavy squall with lightning. Wind shifted from West to Southwest. Furled fore and main upper topsails and mainsail.

September 24th. Last night I had to go with a light and hunt several of the crew out of various lockers, and then drive them aloft; when they finally get aloft they are completely useless in this cold weather. Moderate gale from Southwest, with frequent squalls, hailstones. 2 P.M. set main lower gallant sail. 6 P.M. set main upper gallant sail.

September 25th. Strong breeze. Noon, 48-21 South, 126-10 West. Cloudy. Heavy Westerly sea running, decks full of water, crew standing by. Jose Calou sick, off duty. Sava Yenda sick, off duty. During the last gale found the crew quite incompetent to handle the ship; they can't stand the cold weather, and as none of them can steer, although repeatedly shown, we do not consider it safe to proceed further South and endanger ship and cargo; have therefore decided to proceed to Valparaiso to replenish crew. Course, Northeast by East. 2 P.M. set main lower and upper topgallantsails.

At 7 P.M. on the evening of 29 September the crew of Porto Ricans could no longer stand the constant gales, heavy seas and cold weather. With four AB's sick from the weather they were not born to stand, and the efficiency of the remainder at a low ebb, a group came aft and begged the captain to put them off in some port as they suffered too much from the cold and could not perform their duties. They were told the ship would put into Valparaiso. More than two weeks passed before the ship sailed into Valparaiso Harbor and anchored, landing the sick and paying off all who would leave. Three sailors and a bos'n stayed, presumably white men. Yet a day after arrival two of these took their effects and deserted in the Chilean port. No matter; Valparaiso was a sailing-ship port and the next day twenty AB's and a bos'n were signed on before the American Consul and told to report aboard the ship with their gear. This they did on the 19th, 'more or less intoxicated,' and on the morning of the 20th the anchor was hove up by hand (the tubes in the boiler leaked, thus putting the donkey engine out of commission) and sail once more was set for Cape Horn.

Cape Horn was passed on 11 November, in about 57° 20' S. with ice-

bergs sighted frequently. A week later: 'veered ship to Northward, three icebergs in sight. 11 A.M. furled main upper gallant sail. Noon, furled mainsail and crossjack. Strong breeze, cloudy with frequent squalls. Passed six large icebergs during the afternoon. 8 P.M. put vessel under three lower topsails and foresail and hove to for the night, not caring to proceed, icebergs too numerous. Lights attended and sharp lookout kept.'

On 22 November Jack Dudley, one of the AB's fell off the main upper topgallant yard, while loosing the sail, and landed on the main yard. He was at once taken down and attended to. No bones appeared to be broken, but he had a couple of cuts on the head and a black eye and was apparently hurt inside. The next day Dudley remained conscious but failed to recognize anybody. He continued to rest easily but his mind wandered. Captain Amberman and the mate doctored him as well as they could—cuts, bruises and broken bones, if not too serious, they could cope with but internal injuries and concussions were beyond their limits of treatment. They, of course, had no doctor on board.

November passed and the end of December found *Atlas* approaching the Atlantic coast of the United States. On 12 January 1907 she anchored at Delaware Breakwater, 152½ days out of Honolulu and was ordered to Spreckels' wharf in Philadelphia for discharging. By 1 February, the cargo was out and she shifted to Cramp's Shipyard for dry docking. After ballasting at the South Street wharf in Philadelphia, the Baltimore tug *Britannia* took her in tow on 18 February bound to Baltimore and a loading berth. For the fifty hours required to tow her from Philadelphia to Baltimore, *Atlas* required about 800 tons of ballast, which took several days to load and trim in Philadelphia before she was stable enough to stand up. As soon as she moored to the Sugar House wharf in Baltimore, riggers came aboard to discharge the ballast, and this operation took the best part of the next couple of weeks, working a little at a time.

Though modern for a sailing ship in many respects, *Atlas* was not much different from her older predecessors in regards to the old-fashioned problem of ballasting when empty. Few sailing ships were fitted with deep tanks or ballast tanks which could be filled and dumped with the assistance of a steam pump. The bigger the ship and the heavier her gear aloft, the more expensive it was to handle this necessary operation of ballasting. The shipowner who installed permanent ballast in the limbers of his ship, did so at the expense of revenue earning cargo, though in later years *Atlas* was one of a fleet of ships in which permanent ballast was of the utmost necessity.

None of the Sewall built steel square-riggers was fitted with water ballast tanks. The reason for this is explained in the following extracts from a letter written to the Standard Oil Company in 1901, by the Sewalls, while *Acme* and *Atlas* were abuilding:

The extra weight resulting from the tanks, say about one hundred thirty-five tons, would add some six inches to the light load draft of the ship, and in carriage of all cargoes which will load ship to her deadweight capacity, of course she would carry one hundred thirty five tons less than if she was not fitted for water ballast. [Speaking of *Acme* or *Atlas* which were then on the ways.] Roughly, we consider the expense connected with ordinary ballast, which would be saved, would be off-set by the loss of freight on deadweight cargo thrown out by weight of ballast tanks, and that the net advantage would be practically the saving of time to ship made possible by water ballast.⁸

Whether Captain Amberman asked to be relieved upon his arrival at Philadelphia or not, he turned over his command to Captain Dart sometime in January or February 1907.⁹ *Atlas* had been chartered to load about 5,000 tons of coal for the Navy, consigned to Pacific coast stations, with Mare Island, California, the first if not only port of call. On 18 March the tugs *Caroline* and *Columbia* shifted her to a Baltimore coal pier and loading began. Six days later the cargo was in, a total of 5,062 tons, and again *Britannia* made fast alongside to shift the loaded ship to anchorage. Captain Dart's wife joined him for the Cape Horn voyage, and *Atlas* counted thirty-three on board, all told.

'March 25. Started from anchorage . . . in tow of *Britannia*. Fresh Southerly wind all night. Crew all well and attending to their duty.'

Less than a month later the Line was crossed in about 27 W. longitude, and on the day of crossing the ship filled her fresh water tanks from passing rain squalls. On 7 May, working into the South Atlantic *Atlas* attempted to exchange signals with a two-funnelled steamer but got no response.

May 23rd, Noon position 45-57 South, 60-13 West. Clear and fresh breeze, all sails set. Moderate Southwest wind. While two men, C. Roland and Shoemaker, AB's were over the bows serving the bowsprit shrouds, they fell overboard, nobody knowing how it happened. Threw the lifebuoys overboard, put the ship about and put out the boat. All in ten minutes. Cruised around the spot for an hour, but could see no signs of them. Barometer, 28.90.

⁸ Hennessy, *Sewall Ships of Steel* (Augusta, Maine, 1937), p. 33.

⁹ Captain Amberman continued his seafaring career for many years, in sail and steam. In 1932 he was appointed master of the *Reine Marie Stewart*, a well known four-masted barkentine. He reported in *Sea Breezes*, December, 1932, to have rounded Cape Horn thirty-two times. He is presently living in Boston, retired at the age of ninety-two.

Atlas approached Cape Horn in the southern hemisphere's winter season, and was greeted by heavy snow squalls and heavy southwesterly seas. On 2 June passed Diego Ramirez, sighting that island at 9 A.M., about eight miles off. Three days later on the evening of 5 June she collided with the Norwegian bark *Viking* and caused that vessel's ultimate loss. Details of the tragedy were set forth in the log and read as follows:

June 5. Noon position by Dead Reckoning, 56-19 South, 72-52 West. 1 A.M. barometer 29.50. Overcast and squally weather. Moderate sea and light wind between squalls. 6:30 P.M. a light was reported on the starboard beam. He didn't appear to take any notice of us so we burned a blue light. He then sheared off and appeared to be clear, but he must have hauled up again, making straight for us. We sure collision was inevitable, so we put up our helm and wore her. Still he kept on until his sails was plainly seen, when it was too late he must have put his helm up and tried to keep off. We struck him on the port quarter, doing considerable damage to our bowsprit and starting our stem so that it leaked enough to keep all hands bailing. Pumps were sounded, 4 inches of water found. Carried away our fore topgallant mast and royal yard, and doing considerable damage to gear aloft. The ships stayed fast together crashing into one another. All the crew and officers managed to clamber on board our vessel, but the captain and his wife fell between the ships' sides and supposed to be drowned. Thirteen men all told came from the ship which proves to be the *Viking*, a Norwegian bark bound from Auckland to New York with a cargo of cowrie gum. We got one of the boats over while the ships were together and had her passed astern. When we got clear she was gone. Great coolness was displayed by the men. Our lights was reported shortly before we struck, to be burning brightly. Henry ... on the lookout.

Following gear was broke or lost: Fore sail, fore lower topsail, fore topmast stay-sail; inner jib; 1 force pump, one port anchor stock, anchor lashings on the fo'csl deck, one dozen deck buckets, 3 coils of 2-3/4" rope, 2 coils 3" rope, 1 coil 4 strand 4" rope, 2 axes, 1 wire saw, 2 fore lower topsail wire runners, 2 cases kerosene used, 3 deck lanterns broke, 1 wash deck tub smashed up, 1 lifeboat lost, and one lifeboat stove in the bottom; 1 set of hose for force pump crushed and broke. Bark *Viking* lost with Captain and his wife, in collision with the ship *Atlas*.

Panic apparently gripped some of *Viking's* crew, and the only victims of the confusion were Captain Pettersen and his wife. *Viking* quickly disappeared in the darkness, but drifted about a hundred miles and finally fetched up on Noir Island to sink in about ten fathoms of water with her masts still standing. In August the wreck was sighted but salvage operations were impossible to carry out.

The leak in the forepeak proved to be serious. The crew bailed constantly and when not bailing were kept at work clearing away the wreckage aloft. With her head rigging badly damaged, and the forepeak filling hourly, *Atlas* could no longer maintain her course to the westward and

was forced to give way before a rising southwest sea and increasing wind. Two days after the collision *Diego Ramirez* was again sighted as the damaged bark limped eastward, rolling heavily and settling slowly by the head. Captain Dart made an agreement with *Viking's* crew to pay them the going wages for work performed on the ship, which was readily accepted by the Norwegians. All hands were sorely needed to repair the damage and to keep the leaks in the bow under control. On 15 June, John Hooker, *Atlas'* old sailmaker, died, the cause of his death unknown, but generally accepted to be old age. Ten days after the collision there was thirteen feet of water in the forepeak and rising steadily. Thoughts of beating to the westward around the Horn were cast aside, and *Atlas* began a race against time for the nearest port.

On 18 June, twelve days after the collision, *Atlas* was approaching the Plate River, intending to put into Buenos Aires or Montevideo. Port Stanley in the Falkland Islands had been passed and left behind.¹⁰ A gale struck the ship and for the time being put an end to the hopes of Captain Dart to put into one of the nearby ports.

June 19. Midnight, A.M. Wind increasing to hurricane force, foresail burst, and while hauling it up, blew away altogether. 4:30 A.M., mizzen lower topsail blew out of the bolt ropes, tried to save it but only partly succeeded. 6 A.M., three cornered crossjack burst force of wind. Tried to haul it up but couldn't get it up on account of water on deck. 7 A.M. main lower topsail blew away, everything done to save it, but wind too strong. 9 A.M., wind blowing hurricane, tremendous sea, only three-cornered mainsail left standing. Decks full to the rail with water. 8 A.M., fore lower topsail went same as others, everything flooded with water. Barometer 30.32. Sail locker, rope locker, sail room and decks full up. Braces and running gear washed overboard and cut to pieces. Considerable damage done aloft to blocks, ropes, etc. Twelve feet of water in forepeak, 6 inches of water in main hold. Noon position by Dead reckoning, 34.55 South, 50.22 West. P.M. on Southeast course, four points leeway.

And here the log ends, with *Atlas* running before one of the dreaded Argentine pamperos, her sails blown out, down by the head and on a course not of her own choosing that took her away from the assistance she so badly needed.

Eventually the troubled ship arrived at Rio de Janeiro on 3 July and

¹⁰ This may or may not have been done intentionally by Captain Dart, though he doubtless knew that Port Stanley did not offer the facilities for repairing ships that other Argentine and Brazilian ports had. Ofttimes a distressed ship would call at a port where no repairs were available and would be condemned as unseaworthy, thus being unable to proceed further. Port Stanley to this day still harbors a sailing ship hulk or two, vessels that put in there and were condemned because of their damaged condition.

was repaired. She lay there for six weeks, during which time most of her own crew and the crew of *Viking* left. Captain Dart shipped a crew of 'odd nationalities' and sailed on 26 August for San Francisco. After her departure the crew became mutinous. Mr. McDonald, the mate, got hold of a pistol and began shooting at the crew and kept it up until he was overpowered and disarmed by a couple of Lascars. An account of this incident from the *San Francisco Chronicle* of 25 December 1907 relates the fact that the mate was locked in his room for the balance of the voyage.

From Rio *Atlas* took four months to reach San Francisco, arriving off the Golden Gate on 24 December, two hundred and seventy four days from Baltimore.

With her coal cargo finally delivered, *Atlas* was chartered to load sugar in the Hawaiian Islands and sailed from San Francisco on 14 March 1908. The passage to Kahului, Maui, took only twelve days and she began loading almost immediately. Two weeks were required to put her down to her marks with sugar and she sailed on 9 April. The voyage to Philadelphia via Cape Horn lasted 109 days and the big ship arrived off Spreckels' dock on 26 July 1908.

When *Atlas* finished this, her fifth complete round voyage for Standard Oil Company in the summer of 1908, Captain McKay returned to his former command. *Acme* arrived at New York in August, a month after *Atlas* arrived at Philadelphia and both ships were in port in New York during August and September. Captain Dart moved to *Acme*.

Captain McKay put *Atlas* on berth in New York, once again loading a cargo of case-oil for Yokohama and sailed on 4 October 1908. One hundred and twenty-five days out, after having passed through the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, the ship was in the western Pacific Ocean on the Line in 162° 27' E. Captain McKay had missed a chance to make the usual passage up through the South China Sea on the shortest approach to the Japanese Islands. On 17 February 1909 in the vicinity of the Volcano Islands, *Atlas* was struck by a squall in which she lost her maintopmast staysail and cross jack. She was 136 days out, and was to encounter a series of February gales before picking up the pilot at the entrance to Yokohama Bay, 141 days out. It was an unusually long passage, and small wonder that the crew ran away, a few at a time.

Throughout February, March, April, May and part of June the big sailer lay in Yokohama. Her cargo was discharged and long after the last lighter had been towed away she continued to lie at anchor while the crew worked a little at a time at setting up rigging, painting, chipping

and tending to maintenance jobs. On 16 June she was put into dry dock for a bottom painting job, and came off next day to begin loading ballast.

'June 21st. Took stores, police from shore on board watching sailors. Pilot came on board with captain. Light rains.'

With her crew either returned by the local constabulary or replaced, *Atlas* was made ready for sea. At 4 A.M. the following day a tug came alongside, made fast and after the anchor was hove up, assisted *Atlas* to sea, bound for Manila. After a passage of twenty-eight days she anchored off the ballast grounds in Manila Harbor and began to discharge her ballast. On 5 August her hemp cargo came alongside in lighters and she began loading, an operation that consumed the rest of August and part of September. A grand total of 21,730 bales of hemp was loaded and *Atlas* left the port of Manila on 21 September 1909 in tow of the Coast Guard boat *Panay*.

Hemp was regarded by some as an undesirable cargo, and those who were prone to superstition claimed a sailing ship's performance was adversely affected therefrom. The 1904 cargo of hemp taken from Manila in *Atlas* during Captain McKay's previous tenure was, for a time, blamed for the contrary winds the ship met while trying to work herself into the Indian Ocean at Anjer. Superstition or not, a vessel loading hemp or any other cargo in Manila Harbor inevitably got a very foul bottom if she lay there long enough, and it will be understood that a ship with her bottom covered with the quick-growing grass and plant life that thrives in the tropical waters of the Philippines, is not bound to perform like a racing yacht at sea.

It took *Atlas* over seven weeks to get past Anjer, and almost four more months to reach New York. She finally arrived on 6 March 1910, one hundred and sixty-seven days from Manila. The round voyage had taken a year and five months to complete, six months of which were spent at anchor. So much idle time was an expensive pastime that must have caused the Standard Oil Company officials some concern and no little expense.

Another coal charter was secured, this time with the Pacific Coast Coal Company of Seattle, and *Atlas* shifted to Philadelphia to load. Captain McKay sailed on 11 May 1910 and was on the Line in 27° 41' W. in a month's time: south of Cape Horn on 14 July, crossing the Line in the Pacific in 118° 19' W. on 18 August. Late in June, while in the South Atlantic an old sailor, Wilbur White began to fail in health and was laid up. He hung onto life for three months but continued to weaken. Crossing from the South Pacific into the cooler latitudes of the North Pacific, *Atlas*

approached the northwest coast late in September. When the ship was 133 days out of Philadelphia the old sailor died and was buried at sea, Captain McKay reading the burial service. Four days later the light on Cape Beale, Vancouver Island, was sighted bearing north a distance of fifteen miles.

By noon of the 27th of September, *Atlas* was near the Straits of Juan de Fuca and making her approach to the entrance in company with the barkentine *Gardiner City*. The tug *Tatoosh* came out from behind the Cape, took both vessels in tow and headed in toward the Sound. The ships arrived at Port Townsend, the port of entry, at 10:30 A.M. on the 28th, and proceeded to Seattle in tow of *Tatoosh*. Late that afternoon she anchored in Elliott Bay, about two hundred yards off the grain elevator and awaited orders to shift to the coal dock. Early on the morning of 29 September she shifted to the coal bunker dock, again in charge of *Tatoosh* and was moored securely.

For two weeks part of the coal cargo was taken out of her hold, after which she was shifted to the stream and made ready for sea again. The balance of the cargo was destined for San Francisco Bay, and rather than dispatch her thence under sail, arrangements were made to have her towed down the coast. On 17 October the small steamer *Atlas*, one of Standard Oil's own coasting steamers shackled her hawser into the bark's cable and started the tow out through the Sound and toward open sea. With only part of the coal out, and a balance of 2,000 tons in the very bottom of the ship, *Atlas* became stiff and rolled heavily as soon as Cape Flattery was left behind. By noon of the following day the tug and tow passed Grays Harbor and on down the coast toward the Golden Gate. Four days from Seattle she crossed in over the bar and went to her berth, where the balance of the coal was discharged.

Both *Atlas* and *Astral* were in port together in October 1910 and both were dry docked by Standard Oil for routine inspection and painting, *Atlas* going on the dock on 27 October. Not only were there officials from Standard Oil in attendance but surveyors and representatives from the Alaska Packers Association of San Francisco. The Alaska Packers were the owners of an imposing fleet of square-rigged ships, and were in the market for additions. The supply of iron and steel ships under the American flag from which they had to draw was none too extensive. They had given up buying wooden-hulled sailing ships a decade before, and the Pacific coast built ships were not altogether suitable for their trade.

At that time there were few shipowners in America who were contem-

plating the use of large square-rigged sailing ships on a comparatively large scale for an indefinite period of time. There were the Dollars, Rolphs and one or two other San Francisco owners who operated such ships but they filled their ships with cargoes from lumber mills in which they were financially interested or kept their ships under foreign flags for the advantage of lower costs. Some Pacific coast lumber companies were shipowners on a large scale, but they built ships specifically for the carriage of their product and limited the type to schooners, barkentines, and steamers. Atlantic coast-built square-riggers, of which there were a good many on the coast, were too badly cluttered up on deck with houses for profitable employment in the lumber trade, and most of these that spent their last days on the Pacific coast did so as cannery and salmon-packing ships or as coal droghers. In these services their larger carrying capacities were well suited.

Though Standard Oil Company had built *Atlas* scarcely eight years before and considered her a new ship, she was sold to the Alaska Packers Association on 16 November 1910, who in turn immediately began to convert her for their special trade. The new owners already had thirteen iron and steel ships, plus a handful of down-Easters, but none the size of *Atlas*. A couple of fair-sized four-mast barks had been purchased only a few years previously, and in the decade prior to *Atlas*' joining the fleet the Association had acquired a total of fourteen windjammers. It had begun operations in 1893, acquiring a fleet of six ships within a year; by 1910 a total of twenty-one ships were counted, including a few schooners and a barkentine, but excluding those lost by accident. *Atlas* was the twenty-first, and *Astral* purchased two days later the twenty-second vessel added to the fleet.

Atlas was renamed *Star of Lapland*, and was taken over by Captain T. A. Thomsen, one of the Thomsen brothers who served the Alaska Packers over a period of many years. Captain Thomsen left *Star of Holland*, of which he was the first master for the APA, and moved on board *Star of Lapland* while she underwent some refit and overhaul in the company's Alameda yard. Her hull was painted black, and masts and spars given a coat of buff. There would be no more trade-wind days, nor long voyages (with a couple of exceptions) for holystoning the wooden decks, so they were tarred over. The Clayton fire-extinguishing system was removed.¹¹

¹¹ The Clayton machine was designed to pour sulphur fumes into the airtight holds of the ship, thus eliminating the oxygen and smothering the fire. The same principle is followed in steamers today which use CO₂ or live steam.

since it would not suit the needs of her new calling. It had been installed in the new ship by the Sewalls, on Standard Oil's specifications, to protect her from possible destruction by fire in her coal, hemp and case-oil cargoes, though its value in Sewall's own ships with coal cargoes was debatable in shipmasters' circles at the time. In its place the Association intalled two Railway and Marine Chemical Fire Extinguishers and two fire fighting tool boxes. A Tanner sounding machine was installed on the poop, a navigation aid that was considered nigh indispensable in the APA's cannery trade to Alaska.

The Association owned cannery stations in Bristol Bay, southwest Alaska, Gulf of Alaska and southeast Alaska, the biggest operation being located in Bristol Bay at the canneries near the mouth of the Nushagak River. The fishing season began in early summer, but the outfitting of the fleet began in San Francisco in March or April. Supplying the stations was done on a wholesale basis, with fuel, building materials, cannery supplies, fishing equipment, and stores for the company's employees being transported from San Francisco and Puget Sound directly to the various cannery sites. The main source of power was coal, which came from British Columbia mines; box shooks for the canned salmon and lumber supplies for the maintenance of the cannery establishments were supplied by Puget Sound mills. All these supplies, plus the crews of fishermen and cannery hands were transported *en masse* from San Francisco to Alaska in the sailing ships and small steamers at the beginning of the season, and each ship was fitted out according to the requirements and size of the particular station to which it was assigned.

Captain Thomsen put *Star of Lapland* on the loading berth in San Francisco on 20 March 1911, sailing for Ladysmith, B. C., five days later, where she took a part cargo of coal, 3,760 tons in all. From Ladysmith she shifted down the Sound to Port Lardlow for 644 M feet of lumber, 112 bundles of shingles and four spars for use at the Naknek Cannery in Bristol Bay, sailing for the north early in May. Her supplies were discharged at the Naknek and Egegak stations and the ship was then put in idleness for the summer. May, June and July and part of August were spent thus, until the run of salmon was over and the canning operations were nearly completed. The pack was then stowed in the ship, which was made ready for the homeward-bound run. The company's steamer *Nushagak* then took *Star of Lapland* in tow and left Egegak on 26 August, passing through Unimak Pass into the North Pacific and arriving at San Francisco on 14 September.

After the cargo was discharged, *Star of Lapland* was laid up in the yard

at the foot of Paru Street in Alameda, along with the other vessels of the fleet. Her smaller cousin from the Kennebec River, *Star of Finland*, was amongst those numbered in this large fleet of ships. Probably no fleet of ships under the American flag included such a variety of vessels, nor represented so many shipyards of the United States and British Isles. In age, they spanned the years from the beginning of iron ship construction in the 1860's through the completion of *Star of Lapland*, including the transition from iron to steel and ranging in size from about 1,000 tons to *Lapland*'s 3,000 tons. The three oldest vessels, *Star of India*,¹² *Star of Peru*,¹³ and *Star of Chile*,¹⁴ had spent more than three decades in general cargo and emigrant trades before their British owners could no longer keep them profitably employed, and disposed of them at the turn of the century. The down Easters, *Indiana*, *Bohemia*, *L. J. Morse*, *Santa Clara*, and *Tacoma*, had already completed long careers in the Cape Horn trade and were amongst the few that survived and continued to work in the Alaskan trade until well into the twentieth century. Three of a quartet of iron full-riggers that the Association had bought soon after 1900 lent grace and a remnant of class that typified the 'iron clipper' era of the seventies, in which *Star of Russia*, *Star of Italy*, and *Star of France* figured so prominently. These three iron beauties, too, had served their British owners well, but after a good many years of service were found to be outmoded and of necessity sold in the late 1890's.

This was not a fleet of outcasts, comprised of vessels in their last agony; nor were they bought at scrapping prices and run on a shoestring. The Association maintained each vessel in prime condition, attending to the requirements of Lloyd's highest classification for the British-built ships, and the American Bureau or Bureau Veritas for the American-built vessels. A force of riggers and maintenance men was hired during the winter months to keep the ships in good condition, under the critical eyes of the ships' masters who were kept on the payroll all year round. The fact that the ships spent a good part of the year in idleness in Alameda contributed to their continual longevity, though they were exposed to the perils of the sea, and a few were lost during the thirty-six years in which the Alaska Packers operated sailing ships. Long after nearly all the commercially run

¹² 'Colonial Trader to Museum Ship; the Bark *Star of India*,' *THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE*, X (1950), 108.

¹³ 'Emigrant Ship to Copra Hulk: the Iron Bark *Bougainville*,' *THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE*, VIII (1948), 114.

¹⁴ 'The Scottish Lady,' *THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE*, VII (1947), 288.

windjammers of the Pacific coast had been forced out of service, the Alaska Packers fleet continued its annual trek to the north.

Star of Lapland was scaled and painted around the outside hull, from the nine-foot draft mark to the twenty-three-foot mark. A little scaling and painting was done in the interior but no major alterations made in her accommodations. In the spring of 1912 Captain Thomsen moved on board and prepared his ship for the coming season, going on loading berth on 1 April. Three days later *Star of Lapland* sailed for Ladysmith to load coal and proceeded to Naknek where she arrived 1 June. After the pack was stowed at the end of the season, she sailed from Bristol Bay on 18 August and made the homeward passage in fifteen days.

After the end of this second season Captain Thomsen turned over his command to Captain P. C. Rasmussen, who left *Star of Zealand* for *Lapland*. *Star of Zealand* was formerly *Astral* and Captain Rasmussen would find he was not totally a stranger in a vessel registering more than 3,000 tons. Meanwhile Captain Thomsen was sent to Seattle in April 1913 to take command of the Association's latest purchase, *Acme*, which had just completed her final voyage for the Standard Oil Company. *Acme*, which became *Star of Poland*, came westward around Cape Horn with a coal cargo, putting into Montevideo when the temperature of the coal ran too high. Thus, the three vessels that had been built for Standard Oil a short dozen years before were together again in a new service; instead of cases of kerosene, they packed cases of salmon and all three of them did so to the satisfaction of their new owner. Their hulls were no longer white as they had been in their deep water days, but there was no mistaking the three big Kennebeckers amongst the smaller ships in the Alameda yard.

With a few exceptions, *Star of Lapland* was repeatedly sent, year after year to the Naknek Cannery, in Bristol Bay. Being the large carrier that she was, her season's work included a voyage to the British Columbia collieries, where she would take in a part cargo of coal to be delivered to the cannery sites or brought back to San Francisco to be distributed throughout the fleet. Vancouver Island supplied the fuel in abundant amounts and it was to Nanaimo that *Star of Lapland* went in the very early spring months before the rest of the fleet was fitted out and sent to sea. Knocked-down shooks, or wooden boxes in which the cans of salmon were packed were produced by a Bellingham mill, and one or more of the APA ships was sent there to take on a cargo of these supplies. Tinsplate and the hundreds of other stores and supplies that were used during the season

would otherwise be loaded in San Francisco Bay for the most part, and the largest part of the fleet sailed directly from the Golden Gate to Alaska.

On 1 February 1913 Captain Rasmussen took *Lapland* out of San Francisco in tow of the tug *Goliah*, bound up the coast to Nanaimo. The trip took six days; getting under the tips and receiving her cargo took another couple of weeks and *Star of Lapland* was back in the Bay area on the last day of February. Here she discharged part of her cargo and spent the rest of March and part of April fitting out and taking on additional stores for the 1913 season. She was temporarily assigned to the Loring station in southeast Alaska, to replace *Star of Zealand* which went to Naknek in her place. Twenty five days out of San Francisco, the big bark arrived at Loring and was moored for the summer while the cannery crew and fishermen moved ashore and began the annual job of catching and packing salmon. Because of Loring's location in southeast Alaska, ships assigned to that station were spared the transit of Unimak Pass and the threat of an earlier approach of winter, than the ships calling in Bristol Bay. Yet the navigation of channels cursed with extreme ranges of tide and strong currents was serious enough. The bones of the iron bark *Star of Bengal* were only six years in the grave off Coronation Island, not far from Loring, marking the worst calamity and loss ever suffered by the Association.

With the pack stowed *Star of Lapland* sailed on 2 October and arrived in San Francisco only eight days later, having made what could be considered a good passage home. Only *Star of Finland* remained at sea, the last arrival in, having sailed from the Kodiak Island cannery of Alitak on 10 September.

Star of Lapland returned to the company's dockyard and was laid up for the winter. During this period a two-hundred-gallon water tank and new fresh-water pumps were installed, completing the repairs and improvements for the present. Captain Thomsen returned to his big ship, turning over the command of *Star of Poland* to Captain Rasmussen.

The season of 1914 began for *Star of Lapland* in early March, moving to the loading pier in San Francisco on 11 March and sailing three days later for Nanaimo. The usual cargo of coal was loaded before the big ship shifted to Bellingham for additional lumber supplies, sailing from there on 18 April. The passage north took twenty days and once again she was placed in idleness for the summer months. Keeping her company at Naknek were the APA ships *Bohemia* and *Star of Zealand*. The summer's catch was stowed in the ship in early August, and when the crew and shore-side

workers were back on board, sail was set for San Francisco on 17 August. The homeward passage was made in twenty-six days.

Homeward passages were often made in good time, since the westerly winds in those latitudes were nearly always fair for the San Francisco-bound ships, and occasionally when they cleared Unimak Pass together, a 'race' was inevitable. The iron and steel-hulled *Stars* and their wooden sisters in the cannery fleet were kept up in condition for good sea service, though only a half dozen of them all could have passed for near-clipper types in their heydays. *Star of Lapland* was not fitted to carry the large number of cannery hands that some of the smaller ships were. There were many vessels that accommodated well over two hundred fishermen and passengers on board. With the responsibility of caring for such a large number, to say nothing of the cargo and ship itself, few masters were inclined to 'crack on' sail to extremes in their aging hulls. Only the *Stars of Bengal, Russia, France* and *Italy* were capable of good habitual runs if their masters so desired.

Star of Lapland made eleven direct passages from Naknek, Egegak or Kvichak to San Francisco via Unimak Pass, her average time homeward being twenty-two days; the best was sixteen days from Naknek to San Francisco in 1915; the slowest were two passages of twenty-seven days each, one in 1917 from Naknek, the other in 1927 from Kvichak. Naknek, Kvichak, Egegak, Ugashik, Nushagak and Bradford Slough were some of the Association's canneries located in Bristol Bay in the same general location with Ugashik being the closest to the Pass. Depending on the weather at the time of sailing in the fall, assistance was needed to get the wind-driven ships away from the vicinity of the Nushagak River and into the Bering Sea. This job was often taken care of by the launches, or steamers which the Association kept for shallow draft work during the summer. As soon as there was a fair wind and enough water to eliminate the hazards of grounding, the towlines would be dropped and a course set for the Pass, thence into the Pacific.

During the layup period in the winter of 1914-15, *Star of Lapland's* fore-castle head deck, main deck and half deck amidships were caulked, completing the major overhaul and repairs for that year. In March 1915 Captain Thomsen took his ship out of layup again, sailing from San Francisco on 13 March for Nanaimo. After taking the customary cargo of coal, the ship shifted to Bellingham for additional supplies, sailing from there on 29 April for Naknek. The summer was spent in routine idleness; by

22 August the pack was stowed and the bark sailed for San Francisco. The passage home took sixteen days, and after discharging the cargo, *Star of Lapland* returned to layup.

Because of her origin in an American shipyard, *Star of Lapland* was classed by the American Bureau of Shipping, as having been built under its supervision. Retention of her original class by the American Bureau was essential if the Standard Oil Company was to obtain favorable insurance coverage. However this was cancelled by the APA in 1916, and during the winter of 1915-16 she was given a Special Survey Number Three by Bureau Veritas. She was scaled outside from the sheer strake to the waterline; had her ballast removed, ceiling taken up, and bottom plates scaled.¹⁵ After the ballast and ceiling were renewed and a few other requirements for the survey fulfilled, *Star of Lapland* was remeasured in March as follows:

National Registry:	3384.30 Gross tons
	3102.15 Net tons
Panama Canal	3450.13 Gross tons
	3151.78 Net tons
Fishing Tonnage	3381.13 Gross tons
	3006.61 Net tons

On 11 March 1916 she sailed from San Francisco for Port Angeles, where she arrived nine days later, shifting to Nanaimo on the 23rd. While in the Straits of Juan de Fuca she was in company with the barkentine *Charles F. Crocker*, schooner *Roy Somers*, and bark *W. B. Flint*, all inbound under full sail. From Nanaimo she towed to Bellingham and sailed from this last port on 22 April, direct for Naknek and made the northward passage in four weeks. Her return voyage was made in twenty-two days, arriving at San Francisco from Bristol Bay on 13 September.

The season of 1917 was much the same as that of 1916. On 22 January the tug *Hercules* took *Star of Lapland* in tow for Nanaimo, clearing the Golden Gate for a passage up the coast. A week later, off Destruction Island, the sailing ship's anchor chain parted, and forty-five fathoms of it were lost. Despite this mishap, she arrived at Nanaimo for her coal and returned to San Francisco still in tow of *Hercules*, arriving on 14 February. Again she sailed from San Francisco, this time under sail clearing the Gate

¹⁵ Ceiling is the term used for the wooden covering or flooring in the bottom of a ship's hold, as a covering and extra flooring for protection of the ship's bottom, or tops of double bottom tanks as the case may be in the construction of the individual ship.

on 17 March, for another call at Nanaimo. From the coal port she shifted to Bellingham, sailing from there on 3 May for Naknek. The usual routine occupied *Star of Lapland's* time, and after stowing the summer's catch in her hold, she returned to San Francisco in twenty-seven days, arriving on 14 September.

By this time the United States had taken an active part in the war in Europe, and the shortage of bottoms was being felt in the Pacific. As soon as the salmon pack was unloaded, *Star of Lapland* went on loading berth in San Francisco, chartered to George W. McNear of San Francisco. She loaded a general cargo and sailed for Manila on 16 October 1917, making the Pacific passage in fifty-two days. As soon as her west bound cargo was discharged, by 20 December, she began taking on a return cargo. Prior to the start of loading, a surveyor was called aboard to inspect the lower holds. He found the ship had 400 tons of gravel ballast, which was considered adequate to provide the necessary stability for the loaded ship with a deck cargo. Her return cargo consisted of 210 teak logs in the lower hold, 1,500 bales of hemp in the tween-decks, and 977 barrels of oil and 50 M feet of lumber on deck.

On 17 January 1918 she was loaded and two days later left Manila harbor in tow of U. S. S. *Liscom*, a small naval steamer which had been engaged to tow her south through San Bernardino Straits into the central Pacific Ocean. However on arrival in the Straits, the weather was too bad to tow through and *Liscom* took her charge farther south past Zamboanga. Once the islands were cleared, *Star of Lapland* set sail on a course toward the northeast, to get away from the region of adverse trades, and into the higher latitudes to find the fair westerlies that would help her homeward.

She ran into a series of setbacks and difficulties, the first of which was encountered on 9 February. Here, in 7° 30' N., 131° 40' E. (within a few hundred miles of her position on 15 November 1904, when she was severely battered by a heavy and sudden squall) *Star of Lapland* was struck by a similar gale of wind that heeled her over until her lee rail was under water, and her way slowed. Eight thousand feet of lumber and 235 barrels of coconut oil were jettisoned to help right the ship, and she sailed on.

A month later, while making her way in a northeasterly direction, a strong northeast gale carried away her main topmast staysail, which became a total loss. Such losses were not commonplace, but were to be expected occasionally in the latitude where winds blew strong. On 20 March, in 34° 58' N., 160° E., during a westerly gale a big sea came rampaging aboard forward of the port mizzen rigging and smashed the dinghy, tore

away the messroom skylight, and starboard forecabin skylight, in addition to breaking the main royal yard at a point about a foot from the truss band in way of the clew line bolt. Considerable water was shipped in the forecabin, galley, donkey room, and alleyways of the midship house, but *Star of Lapland* shook herself free of this load and again came on. On 10 April Captain Thomsen signalled for the pilot off the Golden Gate, and brought his ship to anchor in the Bay, eighty-one days out.

Less than three weeks after her arrival from the Philippines, the Alaska Packers began outfitting her for the 1918 fishing season in Alaska. On 4 May the tug *Hercules* took the big bark's towline and began the long tow up the coast toward Nanaimo which she reached in ten days. After loading the usual part cargo of coal, she shifted to the Sound port of Bellingham for shooks and lumber, before sailing for Naknek on 13 June. Fifteen days were required for the northward trip, and once more the big windjammer lay idle to her moorings while the season's work went on. The wooden ship *Llewellyn J. Morse* was stationed at the Coffee Creek cannery on the Kvichak River, under command of Captain C. E. Petterson. During the idle period, Captain Thomsen relieved Captain Petterson in the wooden vessel, while the latter moved to *Star of Lapland*. *Star of Lapland* came home to San Francisco on a twenty-four-day run, arriving off the Gate on 19 September.

By this time the tempo of the war in the Atlantic had drawn much of the Pacific coast steamer tonnage away from its usual occupations. The United States government, through the U. S. Shipping Board requisitioned the steamers of the Matson Navigation Company, which left that line short of bottoms to move the sugar cargoes from Hawaii to the mainland. During the previous winter while *Star of Lapland* was on her voyage to Manila, the government requisitioned a half dozen sailing ships from the Alaska Packers for one voyage each, turning five over to Matson. In the spring of 1918 these five were redelivered to the Association and went about their customary work in the Alaskan trade. The sixth was *Star of Poland*. She, too, made a voyage to Manila, but piled her bones on a reef off the coast of Japan in September 1918 to become the only casualty suffered by the Association outside of Alaska during the war.

Hardly had the salmon pack been discharged in September 1918 before *Star of Lapland* was again put on the loading birth, this time chartered to the Vacuum Oil Company of New York. She shifted from Alameda to Point Orient in the Bay and commenced loading on 4 October. Once again she began taking in a cargo of case oil, though this was to be her last.

In less than two weeks 121,606 cases had been stowed in her capacious hold and she towed to sea on 17 October bound for Auckland, New Zealand. She made the outward voyage in fifty-one days,¹⁶ which wasn't bad considering the fact that the manning problem of sailing ships was not easily solved in the boom time of war years. For the sailing ships that were owned and operated by the Shipping Board, the manpower supply was somewhat bolstered by the now-extinct practice of taking from two to a dozen apprentices, primarily for the noble purpose of officer training, but also, we might suppose, to fill out the meager watches required. However *Star of Lapland* being a privately owned vessel and under a time charter did the best she could with the crew that could be recruited along the 'Front.'

Nineteen days work were required to discharge the case-oil in Auckland. The Food Administration's Grain Corporation, one of the U. S. government's World War agencies chartered the bark next to load wheat in Australia, and *Star of Lapland* sailed from Auckland in ballast for Sydney on 26 December. The passage across the Tasman Sea was made in nineteen days. She spent the next four weeks in Sydney, waiting for a berth and loading her cargo which comprised a total of 4,906 tons of wheat. She sailed on 12 February 1919, arriving in San Francisco on 21 April after a moderately good passage of sixty-eight days which got her home in time for the fishing season.

After discharging the grain cargo, the government redelivered her to the Association who very quickly put her on berth for Alaska. On 15 May she sailed from San Francisco, bound first for Bellingham for the usual cargo of cannery supplies, sailing from there on 12 June and arriving at Naknek on 11 July. The season was well along and her stay was short. The passage home was done with the assistance of two tugs and completed in twenty-three days.

The 1920 season was much the same as the previous ones, except that

¹⁶For the sake of comparison the New Zealand four mast bark *Pamir* made five similar voyages from San Francisco to Wellington, New Zealand. *Pamir* was a similar vessel in rig, almost the exact tonnage of *Star of Lapland*, and three years younger. She was operated by the New Zealand government from 1912 through 1918 and made, amongst others, five voyages to San Francisco, returning directly to Wellington. She had from 32 to 39 in her crew, made up for the most part with green but willing New Zealand boys before the mast. Her average time for the return voyage from San Francisco was 59 days, the longest being 98 days in 1912, the shortest of 51½ days in 1914. Auckland, of course, is located on the northeast coast of North Island, while Wellington is in the straits separating the two islands. The latter port is thus a few hundred miles farther in distance from San Francisco, accounting for about two days additional sailing time. However the sailing performances between these two ships—one German built and the other an American ship—is interesting when it is considered that about a quarter century of time had elapsed after *Star of Lapland's* voyage, and sailing ship crews had all but vanished.

the call in Puget Sound was eliminated, and *Star of Lapland*, under Captain Petterson sailed from San Francisco directly to Naknek. The north-bound passage was a longish one, taking thirty-nine days, but she came home in twenty days, arriving on 26 August. Her cargo for the season comprised 17,869 cases which fell far short of bringing her down to her marks.

In 1920 *Star of Lapland* was due for her First Special Survey Number Four under the auspices of Bureau Veritas. Though the Alaska Packers carried their own insurance on their fleet, they maintained each of the iron and steel ships in class to insure their continued good condition. *Star of Lapland* was cleaned, spotted, and painted inside and out; her tween-decks and forepeak were scaled and painted; and a good deal of old iron work was renewed and repaired. She was fitted with a new jigger topmast, fore upper topgallant yard, and mizzen upper topgallant yard. Where her deck planking was worn, new pieces were fitted and the whole deck was caulked, including that on top of the midship house. Winding up this survey and its related repairs and renewals took the best part of the bark's idle time in the Alameda yard. Whether this survey precluded her making the annual voyage to Alaska in 1921, or if it was the economics involved in the 1921 shipping slump which followed the postwar boom we cannot say. That the fleet of sailing ships owned by the Alaska Packers Association was not subject to the demands and risks of the general deep-water trade—which laid up a hundred similar ships in the Alameda Estuary—we are reasonably assured. *Star of Lapland* may not have been much more than a floating storeship, but as long as salmon swam into Bristol Bay on schedule she was guaranteed a cargo.

The years 1922 and 1923 saw *Star of Lapland* active once more, though limited to her usual voyages to Naknek, going by way of Blaine, a coal port in Puget Sound on the Canadian border.

In 1922 the last two additions to the sailing ship fleet were made, when the Association purchased the ship *Arapahoe* and the four-masted bark *Edward Sewall*. That year also saw the beginning of the end for the wooden fleet and the smaller and older iron vessels. Though the Association had bought and built small steamers soon after 1900, they were used to supplement the sailing ships in the service of the company in Alaska, and were not originally intended to replace the sailing fleet. The smallest and oldest of the sailing ships were laid up in the early twenties and sold when buyers were located, though the largest vessels were retained and actively employed for several more years. In 1925 the first large steamer was bought, the German-built single-screw steamer *Newport News* ex *Odenwald*

ex *St. Jan*, grossing 4,297 tons and dating from 1904. She was renamed *Arctic* and began her services with the season of 1926. That same year *S. S. Bering* was added, originally being *Salatiga*, an American-built ship but lately under the Dutch flag. In 1928 the Matson Line sold their *Laur-line* to the Alaska Packers who in turned named her *Chirikoff*; and the following year *Mohinkis*, a wartime Shipping Board hull (finished in 1920 at Baypoint, California) was acquired and renamed *Delarof*.

The steamers had several advantages over the windjammers. They were not limited to one round voyage per season (though in the earlier years of operation the Association managed to get a couple of voyages out of some sailing ships too); their carrying capacity was considerably greater when compared to the windjammers; and crews, of no little importance were more readily obtainable. In fact, one of the primary reasons for the replacement of the sailing fleet altogether was the lack of experienced seamen. The fishermen were the seamen for the ships, performing the duties required and getting paid as such for the run to and from Alaska. The supply of men experienced in sailing vessels along the coast began to dry up not long after World War I ended, and replacements were not easily come by. Perhaps more important to the Company's point of view was the fact that the officers in sailing ships were of an older generation and were either going into steam when the chance came along, or retiring from the sea altogether, with few younger men choosing a doubtful career in sail to follow after them. Only the Alaska Packers held onto the operation of sailing ships along the Pacific coast, as the year 1930 approached, and even they found the going a little hard, in keeping their sailing fleet intact.

In March 1924 Captain Petterson sailed his big ship to Blaine for coal and then set sail off Flattery for the fishing grounds—going first to Naknek, then Egegak and Kvichak. It was his last voyage. While idle at Naknek during the summer he died on board. Captain John Sparr, former master of *Star of Russia* took over the command of *Star of Lapland* for the homeward passage, going first to Karluk on Kodiak Island to lift that part of the pack not taken by *Star of Shetland*, and sailing to the Golden Gate in fourteen days. She arrived on 26 September and after discharging her cargo was towed to the company's yard in Fortmann Basin and laid up. This time she brought back 89,174 cases of salmon and 1,936 sacks of salmon meal, a considerably larger cargo than the one loaded four years before.

Electric lighting had been installed the year before, and during the

winter of 1924-25 a wireless set was added, to provide a better means of picking up weather reports and sending arrival messages. Captain Sparr remained in command of *Star of Lapland* for the season of 1925, sailing from San Francisco on 21 March for Naknek, Egegak and Kvichak putting into Puget Sound for coal en route north. When she arrived home on 23 August, her cargo of 32,143 cases of canned salmon was discharged first, and then the 'flagship' of the fleet began a layup that was to last a year and a half. With the addition of the steamer *Arctic*, seven sailing ships were idled for the 1926 season, including *Star of Lapland*, and only she of that displaced group was to see the waters of Bristol Bay again. In 1927 the sailing fleet was reduced to a bare half dozen. Captain Jules deSassise who had last commanded *Star of Scotland* became master of the big Kennebec on her last voyage to Alaska.¹⁷ It was the last voyage of an Alaska Packers windjammer into Puget Sound for the black diamond, too. Modernization of the canneries in 1927 eliminated the use of coal as a source of power. The newly acquired steamers were fitted with deep tanks or extra fuel tanks and could take a part cargo of oil for the generators in the canneries.

Star of Lapland cleared the Golden Gate on 22 March 1927 and made the passage up the coast in eight days in tow of the tug *Sea Lion*, calling at Blaine for over three weeks while coal was dumped into her big hold. She sailed from there on 23 April, arriving at Kvichak on 22 May, and after discharging her cargo was moored to a spread of anchors. A little more than two months passed, and finally the cases of canned salmon were swung into her hold and stowed for the homeward trip. She loaded 58,000 cases, her last cargo for the Association. On 30 July she sailed from Kvichak for Unimak Pass. The following day *Star of Zealand* left Naknek, and *Star of Holland* sailed from Egegak. Only *Star of Falkland* remained to finish loading at one of the Naknek canneries, a single solitary ship of sail in the whole Bering Sea, where once the anchorages were filled with her kind. It was *Star of Falkland's* last departure, too, from Alaska. In less than a year she would throw herself on the rocks of Unimak Pass to become a total loss.

Star of Lapland's homeward passage took twenty-seven days from Kvichak to the Golden Gate. When her cargo was out she was moored to the long narrow piers in Alameda her services at an end.

It is apparent that the Alaska Packers Association had not considered her work done when she was laid up in the fall of 1927, but what the out-

¹⁷ John Lyman, 'The *Star of Scotland*, ex *Kennilworth*,' *THE AMERICAN SEPTUNE*, I (1941), 333.

look was for the coming years none could say. Captain T. A. Thomsen, veteran of more than thirty years as master in the company's windjammers took *Zealand* to Nushagak in 1928; Captain Mortensen, a boyhood friend of Thomsen and with a record nearly as long, took *Star of Alaska* to Chignik; Captain Wiese sailed the bald-headed bark *Star of England* to Alitak and the San Francisco newspapers played up the race between these two last-named ships; Captain Widerstrom took his departure from the Golden Gate in the ill-fated *Star of Falkland* and abandoned her less than a month later, with her hold full of water, and fatally wrecked; Captain Sohlin sailed last in *Star of Holland* to spend the season at the three canneries located at Naknek.

While it is true the *Star of Lapland*'s owners were buying steamers, and laying up a few sailing ships at a time, it becomes quite obvious they weren't abandoning the idea of keeping a few sailing ships ready should the need arise. In her first winter of idleness, in 1927-28, the Association spent over \$13,000 keeping her in repair and conducting a special survey to maintain her in class. That the findings were satisfactory is evidenced by the fact that during the following year nearly \$1,700 was spent in painting her hull and spars; repairing the rigging, windlass, donkey engine, boiler, pumps, and effecting other minor repairs.

The year 1929 came and went, and only *Star of Holland* and *Star of Alaska* went north. In the winter that the famous stock market crash shook the country, the idle fleet of ten ships lay silently at their moorings, with a layer of soot and ashes in their rigging and on their tarred decks. The steamers were very much an accepted fact now. In the spring of 1930 *Star of Alaska* was made ready for the annual trip to Alaska, but she went out through the Golden Gate on the end of a towline and came back the same way in the fall. Only one ship for the 1930 season, and that was the end.

After 1930 any hopes that the Association held that the sailing fleet might again be used were abandoned. As each year rolled by after that the fleet dwindled in number. For the older ships only dim futures as barges or hulks were certain. It is not surprising to say that only one of the ships was sold for scrap before 1934. Where was the profit in that, during the depths of the depression? The general condition of each ship was better than might be expected, and most of them were put into useful services when sold.

Only *Star of Greenland* went back to sea and continued in deepwater

trade for more than a decade, known to a later generation as *Abraham Rydberg* of Sweden.¹⁸

For *Star of Lapland* an uncertain fate awaited her. By the end of 1934 she and four others were all that remained of the sailing fleet. Prospective buyers looked her and her sisters over, with an eye to putting them into the Australian grain trade, but it would have been necessary to remove fixtures and appurtenances of their recent calling and the costs of doing so were too high. As the year 1934 came to a close a buyer came forth with the price of four ships. The Association was willing to sell four of the five remaining square-riggers, but declared they would keep the fifth, *Star of Finland*, as a memento or relic of the days that were gone. The purchaser of the ships was not interested in fitting the ships out for deepwater trade, nor in providing cargoes for them all—save only one cargo each for a one-way voyage to help defray expenses and provide a small profit if it could be had. The Transpacific Commercial Company of Osaka, Japan, bought *Star of Lapland*, *Star of Shetland*, *Star of Zealand*, and *Star of Holland* in November 1934, with the expressed purpose of sailing all four of them to Japan to be broken up for scrap. Within a few months *Star of Holland* was resold, not considered worth the trouble or expense of getting her across the Pacific to the Japanese smelters. She alone escaped, only to be reduced to a hulk.

Star of Zealand was the first to go, sailing in August 1935 for Yawata with a cargo of railroad scrap, making the voyage in eighty-two days.

Star of Lapland went next. In July 1936 Captain George Fujieda came to San Francisco from Japan in charge of a crew of Japanese sailors, and began fitting her out for the coming voyage across the Pacific. She would have fair winds all across the ocean; her owners, careful of her welfare, decided a summer crossing would be safer for the ship, and had rove off only the necessary gear aloft to handle her satisfactorily, if not properly. From the Alaska Packers yard she shifted to an Oakland pier and took in a cargo of salt, 4,241 tons in all, loaded by conveyors through her four hatches. This was to be her last cargo.

On 4 August 1936 she took the towline of the Red Stacker *Sea Ranger* and moved out through the shipping of San Francisco Bay. Two giant bridges were under construction, spanning the Bay she had called home for over a quarter of a century. Out through the Golden Gate and across the bar went the pair, *Sea Ranger* and *Star of Lapland*, and when clear of

¹⁸ John Lyman, 'Fifty Years of Sail: The Bark *Abraham Rydberg*,' *THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE*, II (1942), 289.

the land the towline was dropped. The start of her last voyage was marked by tragedy, when a Japanese sailor named Inabe, one of the crew of twenty-six all told, fell from aloft and was lost overboard. *Star of Lapland* lay to for five hours while a search was made of the sea's surface, but with no success. Finally her yards were swung around to catch the wind, sail set, and the voyage begun.

On the first leg of that voyage, *Star of Lapland* developed some trouble in her steering gear, though this apparently didn't impair her sailing performance. Between San Francisco and Honolulu she made 242 miles in a day's sail, and with the main royal set knocked off 12½ knots at one time. Captain Fujieda originally intended to pass south of Oahu, a distance of twelve miles from Honolulu, but when his ship developed some troubles—as a result of her long years' idleness—he decided to put into that port for repairs. At 2:35 P.M. 19 August, *Star of Lapland* arrived off Honolulu and anchored in sixty fathoms of water, awaiting the arrival of a pilot and the agent. The Dollar Line represented her in the Island port, and she was soon towed to Pier 3 where a gang of machinists came aboard to repair her 'ancient steering gear.' She was no stranger to Honolulu, though more than thirty years had passed since Captain Amberman put to sea on a Cape Horn voyage with a cargo of sugar and a crew of Japanese and Islanders which could not serve her well. And now, in 1936 her 'ancient steering gear' had caused her to put into this port again, a 'freak' in from the sea, for repairs so she could proceed on her last voyage to oblivion.

After a stay of nearly two weeks in port, the repairs were completed, a new reliable chronometer procured and she was once more ready for sea. She sailed from Honolulu on 2 September and completed the last part of her voyage to Osaka in thirty-three days, arriving on 5 October.

Star of Lapland had been bought for the potential steel scrap that was in her hull and spars, and while it was hoped by many that she might get a reprieve for use as a training ship, the Japs were well supplied with trainers and making good use of them as well. The blast furnaces of Nippon reddened the skies at night, and almost as soon as the salt cargo was discharged, the bark which had served man at sea in the pursuit of his noblest aims was fed to the infernal smoking belly of the warrior god who revealed him at his worst.

Notes

DISAPPEARANCE OF U.S.S. *Cyclops*

REMEMBER U.S.S. *Cyclops*? Built by Cramps and launched at Philadelphia in 1910, this twin-screw, 20,000-ton Navy collier operated with the Train until detached from the Atlantic Fleet on 9 January 1918 for duty with the Naval Overseas Transportation Service. Commanded and officered by 15 trained and experienced Naval Auxiliary Service officers who had been called to active duty in the USNRF—the D.M.'s and E.M.'s of World War I—she successfully completed her first N.O.T.S. mission two weeks later by delivering a full cargo of coal to Bahia, Brazil. Proceeding to Rio, *Cyclops* loaded 10,800 tons of manganese ore. With a naval complement of 236 plus 72 Navy and Marine passengers, as well as the United States Consul returning from Rio de Janeiro, she sailed on 16 February 1918 for Baltimore via the Barbadoes. After an uneventful passage the ship arrived ahead of schedule at Barbadoes, where she bunkered and sailed the next day, 4 March 1918.

After her normal routine departure, the next report on the ship was that *Cyclops* '... was overdue, missing, and presumed lost at sea ...' For the past thirty-six years in both naval and merchant services this terse official announcement has formed the basis of as many legends about the cause of her disappearance as the *Mary Celeste* case.

There have been innumerable yarns of mutiny, piracy, barratry, sabotage, and other clues 'solving' the *Cyclops* mystery ever since, but, although many theories have been advanced, none can be proved or satisfactorily account for her disappearance. Within the last few months, for instance, a letter to the Navy Department reported an 'incident'

which occurred in the Florida Straits in March 1918. The conscience-stricken second mate of a tugboat engaged at that time in towing lumber barges from Florida to Cuba belatedly wrote that one night, just before Easter Sunday, on his midwatch a few hours after dropping the sea buoy off Biscayne Bay, he had to haul to the south of his course to cross astern of a huge collier-type vessel, apparently northbound in the Gulf Stream and showing running lights but with her engines stopped. A sister tug and tow following three hours later reported that 'they heard and saw an explosion' offshore in the general vicinity of the big collier. When the two towboat crews, on returning to their home port of Jacksonville a few weeks later, met and compared notes, they decided that it must have been *Cyclops*, then reported overdue in the newspapers. Neither, however, reported the incident at that time.

There are a couple of things wrong with these latest clues to the disaster—the location and the date. If the explosion witnessed by the towboat was *Cyclops*, she must have been in a position approximately 500 miles to the westward of the normal steamer track between Barbadoes and Baltimore. Furthermore, to have reached the Florida Straits and have been drifting in the Stream off Miami during Easter week, the fourteen-knot *Cyclops* would have spent more than three weeks steaming within hailing distance of numerous West Indies islands without having been spoken by one steamer or sighted by a single lookout station, which sounds impossible. Several other possibilities present themselves. The best still seems to be the explanation published in 1919 by Lt. Comdr. (now R. Adm.) Tisdale. The weather maps for March 1918 show a front on 8 March lying right across the estimated position of *Cyclops* on that day. Violent rolling and pitching in rough seas, it is believed, caused a sud-

den shifting of the heavy ore cargo and probably created a slight list. This was immediately accentuated by the free surface effect on water in slack double bottoms. Shipping heavy green water down the open tank tops at that moment would result in her capsizing like a flash. Two incidents remembered from a previous voyage Tisdale made in *Cyclops* gave weight to his theory. First, it seems to have been common practice to leave topside manhole covers off for ventilation; and, paradoxically, he noticed everything else, including the heaviest deck gear aboard, was thoroughly secured, lashed, and battened down. The latter would account for the complete and mysterious absence of any flotsam and jetsam from the lost collier.

All attempts to locate her wreckage have proved unsuccessful and, to this day, one of the most baffling mysteries in the annals of the Navy is the disappearance of *Cyclops*.

J. W. MCILROY

CORRECTION ON *Pacific Queen*

IN the interest of accuracy I should like to correct the following statement made in your Editorial in *THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE* for July 1955 concerning '*Pacific Queen* ... appearing as Captain Bligh's famous ship in "Mutiny on the *Bounty*."

Back in 1935, when I was in school, I worked in the Craig Ship Yard here in Long Beach during summer vacations. In 1935, when M.G.M. decided to film 'Mutiny on the *Bounty*,' they bought an old west coasting schooner, *Lilly*, and converted her into *Bounty*. *Lilly* was the same length as *Bounty* but far too narrow and so she had to be 'padded out,' as it were, by the addition of false frames to make up the necessary beam. Also, a diesel engine was installed for propulsion as shooting schedules are far too costly to depend upon the vagaries of the wind. While all this was going on, another vessel was being converted into *Pandora*. This was the ship

sent to find the mutineers after Bligh returned to England. *Pacific Queen* was towed into Craig's at this time and work started on her. This consisted of changing her stern from the transom to about the mizzenmast to resemble H.M.S. *Duke*. This was the ship in which the court-martial was held. Several other old windjammers were towed from their resting place in 'rotten row' and converted to background material by simply painting rows of gun ports on their bulwarks. The whole 'fleet' was towed to the Isthmus of Catalina Island, about twenty-five miles off Long Beach and the place made, by the magic of motion picture artisans, to appear like Portsmouth Harbor in England. During the following summer, I, and several other lads from Long Beach, worked as extras in the picture on location at the Isthmus. We dressed in British sailor outfits and stood on the deck of one of the old windjammers and waved at *Bounty* as she sailed by. I remember we got six dollars a day and our lunch.

After the picture was filmed, *Bounty* and *Pandora* remained tied at Craig's wharf for several years. *Pacific Queen* was restored to her original condition and disappeared from my sight until recently. Occasionally *Bounty* and *Pandora* were used as backgrounds in other sea films, but, finally, *Bounty* was sold to a Miss Claire Windsor, an actress of silent film days. Miss Windsor had the ship stripped of her topmasts and converted into a fishing barge. Anchored off Long Beach, she was a familiar sight for many years, with crowds of fishermen lining her rails.

And now for the end of *Bounty*. In 1948 we had a particularly bad storm, what we call a 'Santana.' These are the terrible 'North Easters' that Richard Henry Dana wrote about in this locale. The hot, dry wind from the desert that comes up without warning and increases in velocity as it roars through the narrow mountain passes of the Sierra Madres. Woe to the ship that is not in the lee of Catalina or safely in harbor when

this wind arises. The fishing barge *Bounty*, anchored just inside the breakwater with no protection from this 'assault from the rear,' dragged her anchor, and, crashing stern first into the jagged rocks of the breakwater, slipped down into one hundred feet of salt water, a jagged hole in her highly ornamented stern.

A few months ago, when interest in *Pacific Queen* was aroused due to her resurrection, an N.B.C. news announcer on a local station did a story on *Queen* and mentioned she was the old movie *Bounty*. I called him and gave him the true story. It turned out this newscaster is an ardent skin diver, and he thought it would make a good story if we went out and dived to the wreck and brought up the figurehead which I could present, as a trophy, to the local Power Squadron of which I am a member. A few days later, one of the Squadron members donated the use of his forty-foot cruiser, and, with a group of divers aboard, we set out for the breakwater. For several years, the foremast of *Bounty* could be seen exposed several feet above the water, marking her position. This had finally rotted off and we had to enlist the aid of the Army Engineers to locate the wreck. After anchoring over the spot, the first diver went down and attached a buoy to the wreck and operations began. Several rotten timbers were brought up but it appeared that the figurehead, which was actually cast plaster, had disappeared. Suddenly, an

excited diver broke the surface and announced several of his teammates were bringing up an object encrusted with barnacles, which felt like a Grecian urn. The object was carefully hauled aboard the 'salvage ship' and gently divested of its marine growth. As its true identity gradually emerged, we realized that, although we had failed to recover the figurehead, we had recovered the head.

To finish this saga, I presented the object, with due ceremony, at the next meeting of the Long Beach Power Squadron and upon it was affixed a suitable inscription: 'CHARLES LAUGHTON SAT HERE.' The timbers which we brought back are artistically arranged in my patio as souvenirs of this most interesting expedition.

The complete roster of ships used in 'Mutiny on the *Bounty*' were: *Samar* and *Lottie Bennett*, both four-masted schooners used as background ships; the old west coast schooners *Lilly* and *Ottillie Fjord* were rebuilt as *Bounty* and *Pandora* respectively; *Pacific Queen*, as already noted, played the part of H.M.S. *Duke*, a false stern built on her with fancy stern galleries and ornate quarter galleries. *Samar* served as a floating office for the Pacific Tow Boat and Salvage Co. here in Long Beach and was finally towed to Mexico and broken up. Except for *Queen* and *Bounty*, I have lost track of the other vessels. A 26-foot gas-powered model of *Bounty* was built and used for wreck scenes.

ARTHUR M. RUDD

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BY ROBERT GREENHALGH ALBION

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Abbreviations: *BSSM*, *Baltimore Sunday Sun Magazine*; *BuShips*, *Bureau of Ships Journal*; *D&HA*, *Dock and Harbour Authority*; *MCF*, *Maine Coast Fisherman*; *NVP*, *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*; *PLA*, *PLA* (Port of London Authority) *Monthly*; *RUSI*, *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*; *S&S*, *Ships and the Sea*; *SBF*, *Steamboat Bill of Facts*; *USNIP*, *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*.

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